The SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1931

Edwin Lawrence Godkin, Defender of Democracy
Harold W. Stoke

Old Lizette E. C. Hutson

The Family Situation in the United States
Charles A. Ellwood

Ivan Sergyeyevich Turgenev Clarence A. Manning

The Mass Production of Laws
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Vincent O'Sullivan
Carey McWilliams

Greek and Roman Pets Arthur M. Gates

A Lesson in Unemployment Insurance
Earl E. Muntz

President Hoover and the Supreme Court Robert S. Rankin

Book Reviews

Books Received

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South Atlantic Quarterly

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Number 4

EDWIN LAWRENCE GODKIN, DEFENDER OF DEMOCRACY

HAROLD W. STOKE

THAT small group of nineteenth century editors, who by the sheer brilliance of their writing made their papers powerful forces in the life of the nation, belonged Edwin Lawrence Godkin. Less spectacular than Greeley, more dignified than Dana, Godkin equalled either of his contemporaries in influence. His weekly Nation and his New York Evening Post were as much dreaded and acclaimed as were the New York Tribune and the New York Sun. "The Weekly Day of Judgment," Charles Dudley Warner had dubbed the Nation; and from its foundation by Godkin in 1865 to 1881, when the active editing was entrusted to other hands, the Nation was a vigorous and healthful stimulant to the thinking of the more intellectual classes in America. Its fearless comment upon the questions of the day, its dignity, and the restrained power of its writing gave it a unique place among current periodicals.

It is Godkin's work as a student of democracy, as manifested both in government and in social life, that claims the attention of the biographer and historian. To the study of American democracy Godkin brought the detachment and perspective of foreign birth—qualities which also distinguished the work of Bryce and De Tocqueville. Born in Ireland in 1839, the son of educated parents, at the age of twenty-one he had been graduated from Queen's College, Belfast, and had started to read law. He interrupted his studies to become a war correspondent for the London Daily News

during the Crimean War. Upon his return from the Crimea he came to the United States. His extensive acquaintance with the problems and people of this country was gained while a correspondent for a number of different American newspapers. He traveled through the Southern states both before and after the Civil War, and the accounts of what he saw constitute an authentic and full description of the conditions in that section.

After temporary connections with various newspapers, Godkin succeeded in founding the Nation, a journal of the type it had long been his ambition to edit. In 1881, he became editor of the New York Evening Post, and, as someone said, the Evening Post became a daily edition of the Nation. His failing health forced him to retire from all active work

in 1900, and his death followed two years later.

Godkin's insight into the problems and organization of democratic government was exceptionally clear. Bryce, whom he gently criticized, he conceived democracy to be much more than a mere form of government, and this broadened conception saved him from many of the superficial errors into which less acute students of democratic institutions have fallen. Government, to him, was but one means by which the democratic spirit sought expression. Democracy, Godkin believed, is a principle of social life which must be deeply characteristic of a nation before the government of that nation is genuinely affected. He defined democracy as "simply the application of the principle of equality to the management of the common affairs of the community. It is the principle of equality which has conquered the world. That one man is as good as another is an outgrowth of what may be called social consciousness, and as soon as it has got possession of the State, democratic government follows as a matter of course." It is this refusal to divorce democratic government from the underlying sentiment of a community which makes the work of Godkin of more lasting value than the observations of the usual writer on politics.

Yet one feels that Godkin was not a champion of democ-

racy. He denied that he was an advocate of any form of government. The enthusiast cannot be impartial, and it was Godkin's first interest to be an unprejudiced student. Consequently his defense of democracy was, for the most part, a negative one. His position was that of a referee between critics and advocates. He could analyze and discount the uncritical faith, held by popular leaders and demagogues, that the masses were all-wise, but he was equally quick to ward off unfair or superficial attacks upon democratic institutions from habitual cynics or intellectualists to whom democracy was distasteful. He demanded for democracy a fair trial, the right to make and rectify its own mistakes, unhampered by malicious attacks from its enemies or the misguided zeal of its friends. To the advocates of democracy he pointed out its flaws; to the critic he appeared as its champion.

It was inevitable, therefore, that Godkin should defend democratic government when Sir Henry Maine attacked it in his volume on Popular Government in 1886. Maine's point of view was unsympathetic, even hostile. Serious fallacies in his arguments had led him to false conclusions. Maine had lumped together for purposes of analysis all governments in the slightest degree democratic, from the Greek to the American. Democracy was for him merely a type of political machinery invented to displace other machinery and not a form of government which needed roots in the political ideas and traditions of a nation. In fact, to none of the older critics, save perhaps De Tocqueville, was democracy a deep and genuine social force which was based upon a belief in personal equality, and which found expression not only in government but in science, literature, art, and social relations of every sort. Moreover, Maine belonged to a group which was witnessing, at the time he wrote, the decline of its prestige and power, both political and social, before the rise of popular government. It is not unfair to point out that his perspective was affected by his position. When he charged that the masses were unstable, were "ignorant and unintelligent," he voiced the complaints of his class at sharing political power with classes with which they were not acquainted.

It was a valid argument to reply to the historical condemnation of democracy that popular government as we know it is a recent development. The Greeks did not, over any considerable period of time, make government the servant of the community. The citizen was the servant of the state and his highest duty was to be a good servant. Class distinctions never disappeared. Such Roman democracy as there was wore much the same garb. One cannot but feel that the critics of popular government do themselves an intellectual injustice by trying to bridge the gaps of time and circumstances in order to subject ancient and modern democracies to the same tests. Modern democracy deserves its own trial, dissociated from the judgments passed upon the petty failures and successes of its hybrid predecessors.

What were the charges brought against democratic government? Can democracy be acquitted of the indictments drawn by Sir Leslie Stephen, by Maine, Lecky, or Sidgwick? Is democratic government unstable government? Is it indifferent, if not hostile, to the development of art, science, literature, and education? Does universal suffrage provide a "natural basis for tyranny" and does it inevitably result in the subordination of the wealthy and intelligent to the ig-

norant and irresponsible?

These older critics point out with what seems convincing finality the fragility of popular government. They recount the difficulties of democracy in France since 1789, its failure in Spain since 1812, and its obvious miscarriage in Central and South American countries. Revolution and violence, they say, have attended the inception and the overthrow of democracy in these countries. Maine concedes a greater stability to democracy in the United States, but adds, without showing his evidence, that it has been achieved because "the weak have been piteously pushed to the wall."

More recent critics of popular government, relieved from the charge of defending an aristocratic status quo, no longer emphasize some of the accusations brought by their predecessors. They have sensed the injustice of some of the arguments and refuse to carry the burden of upholding them. One hears little today of the historical argument against popular government. History, by throwing doubts upon the probable success of popular government, may have been a useful instrument in the hands of an older generation to delay the arrival of democracy, but with its arrival history gives way to more immediate and appropriate weapons. The criticisms of Alleyne Ireland, H. G. Wells, Walter Lippmann, Emile Faguet, Hilaire Belloc, and a host of others show the refinements of the latest views of psychology, biology, and sociology. They lament the confusion and inefficiency of democratic politics. They profess to see the independent representative in our legislative halls displaced by the subservient delegate who takes his orders from his unintelligent constituents. They deny that democracy produces leaders. They appeal to biology to prove that the lower groups of society are multiplying more rapidly. in proportion to their numbers, than the occupational and intellectual élite. Even more damaging is the evidence which they adduce to prove that the problems of modern government are too technical, too remote, and too complex to be safe in the hands of a public which is inexpert and frequently uninterested. As Mr. Lippmann says in speaking of the average citizen:

These public affairs are in no convincing way his affairs. They are for the most part invisible. . . . As a private person he does not know for certain what is going on, or who is doing it, or where he is being carried. No newspaper reports his environment so that 'e can grasp it; no school has taught him how to imagine it; his ideals, often, do not fit in with it; listening to speeches, uttering opinions, and voting do not, he finds, enable him to govern it. He lives in a world which he cannot see, does not understand, and is unable to direct.

The gloomy decision of modern critics seems to be that actual democracy is an illusion, and to the degree that it is attained it is a misfortune.

Godkin's defense of democracy was too substantial to be

overthrown by the blunt attacks of the older critics and their disciples; and it offers sturdy resistance even now to the more ingenious and penetrating attacks of recent political analysts.

[Godkin wrote] . . . is this defect of partial comparison. When we undertake to compare one régime with another, old with new times, it does not do to fasten on one feature of either. . . . If we judge American society solely from the point of view of legislative purity and ability, it will certainly suffer in comparison with that of Great Britain. If we judge it from the point of view of judicial learning and independence, we shall probably reach the same conclusion. It would be easy to point out certain losses which it sustains from the absence of an aristocracy, as contrasted with any European country. . . . To produce any real effect the comparison has to be complete. You have to compare the general happiness from all causes. You have to treat the two contrasted communities as places for the poor and friendless man, or for the industrious, enterprising, and thrifty man, to live in, as well as for the wealthy and cultivated man.

He repeatedly reminded his readers that the character of democracy in the United States was decidedly different from that in Europe—a fact which the writers of his day were not alone in neglecting. How can democracy such as that in the United States be compared to democracy like that in Germany, or to that of France, which has had to overcome prejudices and habits established by centuries of monarchical tradition? "We cannot judge," he says, "of the workings of any institution whether monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy unless it has its roots in popular approval. . . . How popular government works can only be known by seeing it in a commodity in which the doctrine on which it is based is fully and intelligently held by the bulk of the people." This condition is now or has been absent in those states where democratic government has conspicuously failed. No dominating political ideal of any kind has received the hearty support of the people. In fact, there appears to be nothing one can call a people. There is a military power, or a peasant class, or there are landed proprietors. The frequent revolutions are disputes over the possession of sovereignty. "They are disputes like the War

of the Roses or the Seven Years' War, between those who have and those who have not." Only those students who do not understand the "complexity of causes" would dare to assign to democracy the failure of popular government in the countries mentioned.

What of the oft repeated argument that democracy is indifferent if not hostile to the higher forms of intellectual life? It is not to be trusted. "Where," asks Godkin, "is the successful author or artist or discoverer, the subject of greater homage than in France or in America?" Widespread competition stimulated endeavor even in intellectual fields. In democratic societies, in fact, excellence is the first title to distinction; in aristocratic societies there are two or three others which are stronger. What finer historical writing can any age boast than that of Hallam, Motley, Prescott, Bancroft, and Grote? And other branches of knowledge, if they are examined, show the same development in democratic lands.

The painting and sculpture of modern Europe owe not only their glory but their very existence to the labors of poor and obscure men. The great architectural monuments by which its soil is covered were hardly any of them the product of aristocratic feeling or liberality. . . . If we take away from the sum total of the monuments of continental art all that was created by the Italian Republics, the commercial towns of Flanders and Germany and the communes of France and by the unaided efforts of the illustrious obscure, the remainder would form a result poor and pitiful indeed. . . . Few of them have been produced by men of leisure, nearly all by those whose life was a long struggle to escape from the vulgarest and most sordid cares.

Nor in their contributions to the art of government have aristocracies outstripped democratic societies. They have been too busy maintaining the *status quo* to originate daring or important innovations. Such measures as emancipation of the Negro, Catholic emancipation, Parliamentary reform, and reform of the criminal law, were, in England, conceived by the lower and forced upon the upper classes. It has not been true that, in aristocracies, the child of fortune is necessarily the child of genius or of virtue.

From considering comparative achievements of the various forms of government Godkin turns to a study of the theoretical basis for popular government. Almost every philosophical analysis of popular government has weighed the principle of political equality upon which democracy is based, and has found it wanting. Publicists have easily been able to deny that men are equal-equal in mental power, in physical prowess, in value to society, or in any other way in which they may be compared. What possible justification can there be, asks the student of government, for the principle of political equality, for the notion of "one man, one vote"? Doubt of human equality has been universal among societies and governments while in the process of becoming democratic. Predictions of calamity have attended every extension of suffrage from the English Reform Bill of 1832 to the woman's suffrage amendment to the constitution of the United States.

Yet the momentous gift of suffrage to all normal adults has been attended by quiet and stability. It has not been hailed by the "vicious, ignorant, or irresponsible" as an opportunity to overthrow substantial and valuable social institutions. The philosophers, speculating a priori upon the probable consequences of widening the suffrage, failed evidently to take into account all the forces involved in the change. They failed to see that the unenfranchised classes wanted the ballot not primarily to destroy the property or the privileges of the preferred classes, but for the greater protection of their own increasing wealth and their rising standard of living. The lowliest workman, if he was seriously trying to better his own position or that of his family, had too great a stake in the stability and authority of government to use the privilege of the ballot irresponsibly. His stake in the established order was to him as great as was that of the wealthy and aristocratic. Habit, loyalty to family and to employer, and a deepened sense of personal worth and of social responsibility have served as checks upon a light and unrestrained use of popular suffrage—factors which the critics of democratic government failed to foresee. Certainly serious problems have accompanied the widened privilege of voting, but they are not the problems of revolution and upheaval; they are problems of procedure and management. The gloomiest

prophets have proved most false.

It was a powerful and more or less unified consensus of opinion held by large numbers of individuals and serving as an ultimate means of control over government which Godkin believed was a distinguishing feature of modern democracies. Even the critics with whom he differed agreed that such an ultimate control was no doubt a good thing. The difference between their views came over the question of the source of such public opinion. The aristocrats wanted to identify the source with the property-holding classes while the democrats believed it should emanate from all classes of adults without distinction as to property, social position, or even sex. Only in this way could "legislators be made to consult the greatest good of the greatest number."

The difficulty of consulting this public opinion and of devising some method by which it could make itself effective. Godkin admitted to be one of the foremost problems in democratic government, and a problem which, peculiarly enough, had been foreseen by no early political thinker. Closer students have more recently admitted the truth of Godkin's observation by confessing themselves helpless in devising means of making a general public opinion an effective force in government. Public opinion is a different thing to later publicists. who even deny that it exists at all in the sense in which Godkin thought of it. But the power which Godkin called public opinion undoubtedly does exist and, however slow and lumbering in its expression, it will ultimately force the government to approximate its desires in more or less clear cut legislation.

Difficulties of expression are no greater than those of forming and guiding public opinion in democracies. Yet the same factors which created public opinion in states where the number who participate in government is small, Godkin believed, would eventually serve the same purpose in democracies. Competition and partisanship within the press has a tendency to bring out the truth and to make it public. The educated man must also be willing to play his rôle. He must try to inform himself and then he must talk. "There can be no doubt that it is talk-somebody's, anybody's, everybody's talk-by which . . . changes are wrought, by which each generation comes to feel and think differently from its predecessor." If there was anything seriously wrong with democracy in America, it was connected with the problems of public opinion.

Godkin, however, was always too much of the scholar to be blind to the defects of democracy. His essays reveal that he deliberately searched out its defects with the hope that they might be remedied. He sought chiefly to investigate those problems of management and procedure which result from the size of modern democracies and from the immensely broadened suffrage. He foresaw indifference as a characteristic of a huge electorate. He knew that men would not always be eager to participate in politics, and he watched this indifference bring into being a body of professional politicians and "workers" who labored to create a popular will and use it to fill offices and to form policies frequently for purely private ends. He analyzed the dangers of a nominating system growing up outside the direct focus of public attention. and almost independent of governmental regulation. He says clearly that control of the nominating machinery gave control of the government.

Godkin anticipated Bryce in prophesying the decline of public confidence in the legislatures. Democratic societies, he said, would tend to "restrict the power of these assemblies. shorten their sittings, and to use the referendum more freely for the production of really important law." He deplored the corrupting influence of the increasing use of money in politics and compared the power of the corporations to that of the individual nobles of centuries past in England and in France. "Corporations," he said, "are the more dangerous because of their customs of making terms with their enemies instead of

fighting them."

The reluctance of democracies to employ experts in government was a striking defect to Godkin. He attributed the fact to several causes. Democracy, especially in America, was supremely confident that it could solve its own problems. Again, democracies tend to rely for guidance upon the "practical business man" who has achieved success by methods observed by everyone rather than upon the experts whose knowledge is shared with few. Americans object to instruction in politics. They have a "dislike in the political field of anything which savors of superiority. The passion of equality is one of the strongest influences in American politics."

Godkin was no pessimist as to the value or the future of democratic government. He believed that there were certain vivifying elements in democracy which were not present in other forms. Time has not yet proved his faith unfounded.

The general belief in progress which now prevails, the greatly increased desire to extract comfort out of life (and comfort includes quiet and order), the more scientific spirit of the time, the disposition of all classes to assume social responsibility, and the sense of what the French call "solidarity" diffused by the press, assure us that every means of progress will be tried, that no defect will be submitted to indefinitely; but what means of improvement will be most effective, and what safeguards will be found most reliable, he would be a rash man who would venture to predict in detail.

Here then was a student of democracy who saw it in all its crudeness but kept his faith in its value. Even his personal experiences in running foul of the corrupt Tweed Ring failed to daunt his belief in the energy and ultimate success of the democratic experiment. He savagely denounced those who capitalized the difficulties of a popular government, but out of the inefficiency, weakness, and corruption which he saw about him, he believed a more perfect government would emerge than any that had yet been devised.

OLD LIZETTE

E. C. HUTSON

THERE are certain memories growing out of unavoidable mishaps, which, strange to say, bring unalloyed pleasure in after years. For instance, there grew out of a trying delay in reaching home, one hot summer's day a few years back, a memory of which I will ever be glad. On the face of it, it was nothing more than a chance meeting with an old Negro, but in reality it was the rounding out to a series of mental pictures, word painted by oft told tales I had learned to love from earliest childhood.

Our trouble with the car came about just as we were entering a small town one Sunday. To our dismay it was discovered that the single garage and filling station was deserted, and the proprietor when hunted up informed us that the mechanic would not be on hand until the following morning. Faced with the necessity of spending a probable twenty-four hours in that dreary little place. I suddenly remembered with what its name was associated, and that ten miles towards the coast lay the scene of those beloved stories. At once I decided that a few of those hours could be far more enjoyably spent by driving there, could I find someone to take me, and viewing for myself what was left of it. The garage owner kindly consented to be my guide in his own car, and leaving my party of friends to their own devices we set out. It was an hour after that in a thickly wooded section we drove up before a heavily barred gate through which the road ran, and upon which was posted the forbidding injunction: "Private. No trespassing." My companion thereupon explained that we were at our destination, that being a law abiding citizen, he would be unable to take me any farther in his car. However. this was the back entrance of the plantation to which we had come, the front-facing an avenue and grove of oaks-being on the other side; and as the Negro quarters was specifically what I'd come to visit, I would have no difficulty in reaching them afoot did I follow my nose along a well defined path. I concluded afterwards that it must be said that I have irregular features, particularly that member advised as compass, for considerable time elapsed before I emerged hot and discouraged from the shaded wood path, into the glare of a plantation road and saw the object of my quest, the Negro quarters strung along both sides of what in plantation nomenclature is termed, "The Street." About a quarter of a mile away, all but hid by the surrounding giant oaks, was glimpsed the dwelling house of the plantation's present owner, newly built upon the site of that one of olden days; and at the head of "The Street," facing me, stretched a vista of abandoned ricefields, where in the fall and winter its overflowed surface would be covered with ducks and other water fowl for the northern sportsmen's guns, instead of being in preparation for the golden grain of the southern planter.

The surroundings appeared deserted; no Negroes loafed about as I'd expected to find, but I surmised that they were probably in attendance at church somewhere in the neighborhood. Fearful that my mission would be fruitless, I walked forward, upon which I came abreast of a small cabin somewhat isolated from the rest in the door of which an old Negro woman stood. I was near enough to see that she was very old, and what was more, added to the waste of time, she was distressingly marked with the rayages of smallpox.

She peered at me over her steel-rimmed spectacles, in a way I thought exaggerated even for the contemplation of a stranger. Among those I sought, old age was to be expected, for the wish to see and converse with some of the old Negroes belonging to a past far beyond my ken was what had brought me here, but in this individual was no pleasing prospect and I would have passed on. I had taken hardly a dozen steps beyond her door, however, when I heard an ejaculation and turning, saw her hobbling after with the aid of a stick she carried. Breathless she reached me, but a moment after with delight I was listening to the soft, musical flow of the South

Carolina coastal Negro's dialect. Not the practically unintelligible gullah of the island Negro, but its modified form as spoken by former house servants, and those coming more in contact with the whites. As near as I can write—she began her questioning:

"'Scuse me, Missie, but I is Lizette dat 'blonged to de Morton fambly befo' de war. An' w'en I see you cum 'long you look so like my little Missie, dat was call Miss Mary, w'en she grow up, dat I t'ink you bin she sperit. What yo' name,

honey? an' wey you cum frum?"

Lizette! Old Lizette? No—that last was not as I'd known her all my life. The most beloved, the most cherished in memory of all our servants, for she was speaking of our family and of my mother as she'd known her. Beloved; revered; because of something that had happened—some deed she had done in that long ago. But this decayed, broken spar out of the wreck of that time!

"Mauma," I told her, "my name is the same as your little 'Missie' whom you loved, and who loved you in turn, for she was my mother. Let us sit down somewhere and I will tell

you how I happened to come here, and why."

There was excitement no little in the old woman when she understood, and she continued to "Praise de Lord," with every breath as we retraced our steps, and with such characteristic fervor that it would have embarrassed my self-consciousness, did I not know the unquenchable loyalty that burns in the heart of the faithful ante-bellum slave. And when we had seated ourselves upon a bench built against the front wall of her cabin which was shaded from the sun's rays by a Pride of India tree, and when I'd told her of the events leading up to my visit, including my walk through the woods and missing my way, I had further proof of that same lovable loyalty.

"Oh, Jesus!" she moaned throwing up her hands; "to t'ink Maussa own gran'chile ain't dribe up de abenue to de front do', an' den ain't know the way round de plantation dat bin in de fambly frum gineration to gineration. My eye 'bleeged for run water w'en I t'ink 'pun sich t'ing." Wiping her eyes upon a corner of her apron, she quaveringly continued: "I want for send message to yo' ma in tudder world, an' tell she, mos' all de old libbers is gone frum de place, an' de millinary [millionaire] furriners is done tek de country. An' some ob dem ain't specify; but teng God, dis Mr. Newman dat buy we property is a gentile—is quality, an' hab a onderstandin' mind so dat one reason I ain't lef' here. Den dere is anudder reason." Slowly rising she pointed to a thick grove of trees in the distance. "In dat grabeya-ad yonder is my brederin' an' my sisterin', an' please God we'en my time cum, I want for be lay dere too."

And looking upon that transformed figure, from which the disfigurements—the defacements wrought by time's relentless hand-seemed suddenly swept away, to reveal the beauty of the soul that dwelt within, a compelling desire came upon me to hear from her own lips the recital of that story—that deed which had so endeared her to every member of our family. And so opening my handbag I took from it a small box, and removing its cover took from it the miniature it contained. It seemed truly predictive of the present moment that only the day before I had come into its actual possession, though I'd seen the picture from which it had been painted many times during and since childhood and knew the story it recalled, the story which I wanted to hear again. Now, this beautiful reproduction was being sent, a valued gift to my little son, the pictured one's namesake, by a member of our family whom I'd been visiting, and it must have been pure inspiration that had made me retain it in the handbag I had brought along.

"Come, Mauma, see if you recognize this?" I asked taking it from its bed of cotton. Her eyes were old and weak, but the pictured face encased in its setting of gold must have spoken to her with unerring certitude, for after a moment's close scrutiny there was an enraptured outburst:

"My Lord, an' master! but if it ain't we Sonny Boy! Yes, Jesus! an' he hab de same smile in he eye dat he wear w'en he wabe he cap an' ride 'way to de war. Old Jupiter ain't let him go by heself but go 'long too to tek care ob him, an' him t'was

dat help bring him home."

"Will you tell me about it, Mauma," I asked: "All that you remember, for this is indeed the picture of Sonny Boy, the youngest one of your 'children' as mother used to say. It has been painted from a little photograph they said he had taken just before he went away, and dressed up in those same soldier clothes he was so proud of."

Memory was taking possession I could see, and I let it have its way while she fondled the bit of painted ivory.

"Dis yo' pictur'," she mused, "but I hab one in my heart here I carry all dese years. An' w'en I can't sleep for de misery in my leg, I rise up an' sit befo' de fire an' t'ink 'pun old times. An' Sonny Boy cum an' whisper in my ear, 'Sing Mauma, 'bout de star lamb,' so I shet my eye an' sing ober an' ober de song I used to sing him, till I drap to sleep in my chair."

"Yes," I prompted, "but begin at the beginning and tell me all you remember until he—was brought home again," for the dreaming old voice was music to me. And this in part is what she told me:

"W'en Sonny Boy bin a baby he ma dead an' gone, an' dere was lef' a houseful ob chillern 'side o' him. Me an' Miss Mattie, de chillern aunt, tek charge; an' Sonny Boy as he grow nebber satisfy to hab me out he sight. I tend him night an' day till he grow big boy, an' he lub me to de end. An' w'en time cum dat de war broke out, an' he see Mass Giles; Mass Bonny; Mass Ray; go off, nuttin' suit him but he go too. He nuttin' but chile den an' couldn't tote a gun; but de day cum w'en dey begin for call chillern out de cradle an' den we hab to fix him up an' let him go. At first de letter cum sort o' reg'lar, an' we busy weabin' claut to mek close for de soldier an' send wid sich t'ings as we gadder up; but den de letter

stop an' we ain't know nuttin', an' I wear out frettin' dat he sick wid de tarrify feber, even if Yankee bullet ain't git 'em. 'Bout dat time de Yankee army cum close, an' all de white people on de plantations had to pick up an' lef'. We fambly

'bleeged to do dat.

"See dat big house shinin' t'rough de trees yonder? Well, dat build where dat army ain't lef' nuttin' but brick an' ashes. De barn stan' by de rice-fiel'—it tear down now—an' ain't ketch fire, an' de quarters dey ain't tech. An' so dat night w'en Mass Giles an' Jupiter bring Sonny Boy home, dere wasn't no place to lay 'em but in dat old barn. Yes, mam, bullet kill 'em, but Mass Giles say he die a soldier deat'. Mass Giles an' Jupiter couldn't stay dere dat night 'cause anudder regiment o' soldiers was passin' 'long de road an' dem two would ha' bin tek prisoner.

"My heart weary wid pain at leabin' him dere all by heself, so I beg an' I plead wid de colored folks to sit up wid me but dey scared. So w'en good dark cum I climb up de stairs in dat barn, an' go out on de little platform build next de room where he lay. An' I sit dere all t'rough de night, wid nuttin to keep me comp'ny but de wind dat mourn in de trees, an' de twinklin' star oberhead, openin' an' shetin' de eye, 'cause dey weep wid me. An, I sing spiritual to him; an' de song I bye him to sleep wid w'en he baby, an' w'en in de gray ob de mornin', wid de road free o' soldier, Mass Giles an' Jupiter git back, dey find me dere." That was the story I heard from old Lizette, but her tale of heroism, unconsciously told, was not yet finished.

"T'was dat same spring I hear ob a camp in de pineland, where de sick soldier was lef' w'en de army got to move on. An' I hear dem soldier was dyin' like sick sheep an' nobody much to tend 'em 'cause nobody would go nigh 'em. I t'ink on Sonny Boy, dat maybe w'en he sick an' wunded he ain't git proper care, an' so for him sake I go to dat camp where dey let me in, an' I stay an' do for dem sick, an' I nebber fall down wid de small-pox till I git home agin. Dat de reason dis house stan' to itself, for I ain't nebber change since dev put me here.

an' w'en I discover from dat small-pox, I bin sich a poor impetation of myself my own mudder wouldn't ha' know me.

"No, mam, young Missis, I ain't know which side dem soldier b'longed to. I ain't axed w'en I go dere, an' if I eber know I done clean fergit."

THE FAMILY SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES*

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

RECENTLY the chief of the Federal Bureau of Home Economics at Washington conceded that the statistics of marriage and divorce seem to indicate the disintegration of the American family. This conclusion, however, was already reached by careful students of social conditions a quarter of a century ago. Facts now make it impossible to brand such a conclusion as unwarranted pessimism. With over 200,000 divorces granted in the United States in 1929, or one for every six marriages; with probably fully one-third of our American homes demoralized; with divorce increasing year by year four times as fast as the growth of our population, the burden of proof is surely thrown upon him who would defend any easy-going optimistic attitude as to the future of our family life.

We seem to be going rapidly in the direction of Soviet Russia, and to be already inaugurating a purely secular form of marriage, with shifting sex relations, based wholly upon private consent or contract. In Soviet Russia both marriage and divorce are purely private affairs, with the result that already in 1927 in all Russia there was one divorce for every 3.8 marriages—a result already achieved by some of our states, even though our law still holds marriage to be a public concern.

Optimism concerning the family becomes still more impossible when we consider the teachings of some of the leaders of modern thought who demand new forms of marriage and sex relations. If these teachings are to be taken seriously, there can be little question as to subsidence of the foundations of our traditional monogamic form of the family.

It is a generation since Ellen Key, the Swedish feminist leader, declared herself against legal marriage, holding that

^{*} Excerpt from a paper read before the Conference on the Christian Way of Life, held at Delaware, Ohio, June 28-July 3, 1931.

love alone was the full and ample justification for all relations between the sexes. Mr. Havelock Ellis in England accepted Miss Key's position, holding that sex relations are the private affair of the individuals concerned and that marriage should therefore be like friendship, formed and dissolved at the pleasure of private individuals. Mr. Bertrand Russell more recently has endorsed the idea that divorce should be by mutual consent, and has denied that faithfulness to one party through life is in any way desirable, or that permanent marriage should be regarded as excluding temporary relations. Still more recently Dr. John B. Watson, the leader of the behaviorists among the psychologists, has told us that men and women have both got bored with being permanently bound to each other and that in fifty years society will discard the effete institution of permanent marriage.

It is perhaps suggestive of how far these radical ideas concerning marriage and sex relations have penetrated even into religious circles to learn that Dean Inge in his recent book, Christian Ethics and Modern Problems, has also set forth the idea of limited marriage for certain persons in society who are unwilling to recognize life long vows of fidelity. He says: "Those who invoke the blessing of the church on their union would be understood to have pledged themselves absolutely to life-long fidelity. They will have taken vows, to break which would be a scandalous and most dishonorable offense. But if two persons wish to enter into a much more limited contract, the terms of which are clearly understood on both sides, they have, I think, the right to claim that the state shall recognize their position as something better than mere concubinage."

Here then we have the idea of companionate marriage, understanding by that term a limited marriage which may be dissolved by mutual consent, clearly set forth and endorsed under certain circumstances by a high official of the Anglican church. It is needless to add that our newspapers, our novels, our theatres, and our moving picture shows are filled with similar ideas which are constantly set before our young people

of both sexes.

The question is: How far are these ideas changing the mind of our youth and how far are they undermining our traditional monogamic form of the family, as a permanent union between one man and one woman lasting normally till death? It is very hard to give any certain answer to these questions. Numerous so-called sex questionnaires have been undertaken among college students but with very uncertain results, chiefly because these questionnaires have met with considerable prejudice and were undertaken by members of the faculty, medical examiners, or other research investigators. According to Professor Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, now our greatest student of the problems of family life, the results of such questionnaires must not be taken too seriously, and especially not as indicating the actual moral standards and practices of our young people, as young people at the present time are given to an exaggerated frankness. However, they do indicate current philosophies and beliefs, and we know that beliefs tend to pass into action.

A conclusion which these questionnaires seem to indicate is that the most alarming decay of strict moral ideals in regard to marriage and sex relations is now to be found among women rather than among men.¹ Perhaps this statement means no more, however, than that women, and especially college women, have come of recent years to accept more largely the standards and ideas of the so-called "man's world." Nevertheless, this does not detract from the gravity of the situation, nor does it show any easy way out. Men have long been noted for the prevalence among them of pagan views of marriage and sex relations, and now it seems that the Christian ideal of marriage is losing its hold on women also.

Why is this? What is happening to change the attitude of women? Much is said about our industrial civilization and the machine age; but probably the answer is to be found in three words: "Freedom," "happiness," and "romance," though perhaps a fourth word "sex" should also be added.

¹ See Hamilton and Macgowan, What is Wrong With Marriage?

These four words in my opinion contain the key to the whole problem of the modern family. The seeking of these things at the expense of the other values of life is what is undermining the old ideals of marriage and the family. Our young people for the most part still remain idealistic, only they have lowered their ideal from the religious one to that of personal happiness; and in the pursuit of this lower idea they are often blundering and mistaken. The morality of emancipation and self-expression which they have learned from current literature, philosophy, and life seems to them to offer a certain road to happiness. Hence, they ignore or reject the morality of discipline and self-control taught by religion, and exalt freedom in sex relations and marriage at the expense of other values. Moreover, they make personal happiness their end and aim rather than the development and service of a nobler and larger life for human society. Taught by our literature and drama, they see in romance another sure road to personal happiness. Both modern literature and the modern stage, together with the biological view of life which is often taught in the name of science, exalt sex; and the exaltation of sex completes the degradation of the ideals of marriage and the family in the mind of our youth.

If this diagnosis be correct, the fault is in the whole spiritual climate of our civilization, and women are not to be blamed for showing the effects of living in this spiritual climate any more than men are to be blamed. We have let freedom usurp the place of discipline in our social life; personal happiness the place of a nobler human society; romance the place of genuine love; and sex the place of spiritual satisfactions. We cannot change marriage and our family life for the better until we change the spiritual climate of our civilization. The church has a bigger task than the saving of a few individual souls—the saving of civilization; rather it cannot save the souls of individuals unless it saves civilization. A church that pays no attention to customs and institutions and the ideas upon which these are based will soon find itself powerless to save individual lives.

Let us note carefully that the conditions which we have just described are not wholly new. They have simply come more to the surface in our time. The truth is that the mass of our people have never had a Christian family life. They have entered into marriage and the family for selfish, often almost animal-like considerations, and Christian ideals have seldom ruled in our homes, even though they were not explicitly repudiated. Our marriage and family life have been individualistic and unsocialized. They have been alien to the larger life of humanity, too often ruled by narrow exclusiveness, pride, and self-interest. Now we are at length discovering that a pure and stable family cannot be based upon such qualities. We should have known that the group egoism of two, four, or six people is just as unethical as individual selfishness. We should have seen that there is an ethical contradiction between the exclusiveness which we have made the basis of our family life and the inclusive love which our religion teaches. We have left the family unsocialized and so un-Christian. Those who demand a new type of family life are, to that extent, right; only they are wrong when they seek to lower marriage and the family to the pagan plane instead of lifting them to the Christian level. We must find some way of building the institutions of marriage and the family upon genuine love, self-control, a sense of social obligation, and spiritual satisfactions. In other words, if we wish a Christian civilization, we must find some way of making these fundamental social institutions serve the larger and higher life of humanity.

As for the newer ideas regarding sex, marriage, and the family which have gained prevalence in our society, it is safe to say that most of them are "half-baked," without adequate scientific foundation. The ideas of Mr. Havelock Ellis, for example, that sex relations are purely of private concern and not properly subject to social control, have never been carried out by any people of which we have knowledge in history.² Because marriage and the family involve so many

³ See Margold, Sex Freedom and Social Control.

personal and property rights, all peoples that have risen above barbarism have made marriage and the family objects of social control through law, custom, and religion. Moreover, they have usually tried to effect through these agencies also some sort of control of sex relations outside of marriage, especially of women. Peoples of higher civilization, especially in the periods of their vigor, have usually had very definite forms of marriage and the family, even when these have not corresponded to our moral code. Finally, promiscuity, while existing to some extent among all peoples, has never been the prevalent form of sex relation among any people of which we have historical knowledge and usually among most peoples has been recognized as a social evil.

The burden of proof, therefore, is thrown on those writers who claim that sex and marriage relations may be safely left without public control. It is true that Russia has inaugurated a system of marriage and divorce based wholly upon private consent, but it remains to be seen whether such a system will work. According to all observers, even the most friendly, the Russian system is accompanied by grave evils; and to remedy these, laws and regulations are already beginning to inaugurate again some degree of public control.

It may be well to remark that these newer ideas regarding marriage and sex relations are not so new after all. have often been tried in the past and found wanting. Romans of the Decadence, for example, made the privatecontract form of marriage equally valid with the religiousstatus form. The result was that the religious form disappeared altogether and the private-contract form became universal, until the Christian Church, moved by the utter demoralization of society, made marriage again a religious status. The proposal of Dean Inge, that the state should tolerate limited marriages, although the Church should sanction only marriage upon a religious basis intended to be permanent, could have no other outcome. The limited marriages countenanced by the state would soon drive out the permanent marriages sanctioned by the Church, just as baser money if accepted by society drives good money out of circulation.

Again, we should note that proposals to loosen social control over marriage and sex relations reverse the trend of normal social evolution. Unquestionably the trend of normal social development is in the direction of increased social control, in the interest of general welfare, over all social processes. A single recent illustration will suffice to illustrate this principle. Until recently most of our states permitted marriages based upon mere private consent, or "common law marriages," as they were called. But so unfavorable were these found to be to social welfare, especially the welfare of women and children, that now most of our states have passed laws invalidating under all circumstances these common law marriages or marriages by private consent. If the trend of normal social evolution be towards increased rational control of social processes, then we cannot do otherwise than regard Miss Key, Mr. Havelock Ellis, Mr. Bertrand Russell. Dr. John B. Watson, and their like, as so many social anarchists, who are listened to only because of sociological ignorance, particularly on the part of our youth.

But marriage and the family are not primarily matters of law and government. Government and law at best can only aid us to make them what we wish them to be. The family life is the most intimate and personal form of human association; it is social life at its maximum. Its quality affects the tone of all social life. Here, as in all problems of human life, it is the spiritual factors which count for most. Unless human beings living together form a mutually stable environment, the human social world cannot survive. Human beings must be able to rely upon one another, trust one another, have confidence in one another, or the social world goes to pieces. Sympathy, understanding, loyalty, altruism, these "imponderables" are the basis of all successful forms of human association. In other words, as Aristotle said, human society has a moral as well as a natural basis. As soon as this moral basis is weakened by exaggerated self-interest or individualism, social dissolution begins. The family in particular is quick to suffer from any weakening of this moral basis of society; and, on the other hand, any weakening of the family weakens all society. To expect a finer and more satisfying social life in general, without a finer and more unselfish family life, is like

expecting water to run up-hill.

The problems of marriage and the family, as we have seen, are rooted in the general problem of our civilization. In our civilization we have let freedom usurp the place of discipline, self-interest usurp the place of public spirit and responsibility, selfish romanticism the place of genuine love, and physical gratifications the place of spiritual satisfactions. These are faults not only of our family life but of all of our social life. Yet only a slight scientific knowledge of human relations is necessary to see that discipline and self-control must come before freedom becomes socially safe; that public spirit and a sense of social responsibility are necessary checks upon self-interest; and that material satisfactions, if made the end, prevent the blossoming of all higher forms of culture. If these are sociological truths, they would seem to point, not in the direction of our old forms of marriage and the family, and still less in the direction of the pagan individualism of our sex radicals, but rather in the direction of what we may rightly call the genuine Christian type of family and sex relations—one built upon self-control, the respect for persons as such as ends, and the supremacy of spiritual values.

It might be well to try to lift our family life and our whole social life at once to this Christian plane, but as realistic students of society we must recognize that at present an insuperable difficulty stands in the way; and that is the utter confusion of the modern world as regards the ideas and values which should guide our social behavior. Absolute disagreement as regards the fundamental values of life marks the relations of most groups in our society. "Unlikemindedness" seems especially to characterize the relations of modern men and women and is perhaps the fundamental cause of our divorce and family instability. Until we can unite upon some philosophy of life, we can hardly expect to have peace and harmony in the family, or in any phase of our social life. But

not every philosophy of life will unite and harmonize men. A conflict or a self-interest social philosophy could hardly be expected to do so, nor in my judgment could a materialistic philosophy. It would seem probable that only an essentially Christian philosophy, teaching the supreme worth of persons everywhere and the supremacy of spiritual values over animal satisfactions, could do so.

If this is so, then the larger part of the burden of solving the problem of marriage and the family which confronts our world must rest upon the Church. The Church must not only teach a Christian philosophy of life, but it should undertake specifically the task of restoring marriage and the family to the position of dignity and importance in our society which they once held. This cannot be done without specific scientific teaching on the part of the Church as to the social importance of these institutions. Even such teaching will be in vain unless the Church undertakes the concrete task of educating the young for Christian marriage and Christian family life. The primitive Church met successfully such a challenge in a more corrupt world than ours. Is the modern Church so weak that it cannot meet this challenge in our time?

IVAN SERGYEYEVICH TURGENEV

CLARENCE A. MANNING

F ALL Russian writers, Turgenev makes the most direct appeal to the educated westerner. He is a stylist, a man who knows how to tell a story, and he tells it in the form that the West is accustomed to follow and to appreciate. He wins the reader from the first page and the apparently artless method of his tales is but an example of that perfect art which is able to achieve real simplicity. More than this, he has drawn unforgettable pictures of the life on the great estates and he has presented this in such attractive colors that he has gained the sympathy of all who appreciate a cultured country This, too, does not limit his range, for here in these beautiful surroundings he has created for the world the ideal of the Russian revolutionist—not the coarse and vulgar bombthrower and murderer but the high-minded young person who is able to sacrifice himself, his life, and his affections for the sake of an ideal.

Yet the very beauty and clarity of Turgenev's style and the success which he has in holding the interest of the reader cause us often to forget the minor chord that runs through the whole of his works. This note of sadness and disappointment is everywhere and the more truthful is Turgenev's picture of his heroes, the greater becomes the tragedy of his country. It is not an error when Chaykovsky as President of the Provisional Government of the Northern District said at Archangel behind the Allied guns at the centenary of Turgenev's birth in 1918: "The tragedy of Turgenev is that he described the Russian revolutionists as weak and incapable of action. The tragedy of the Russian Revolution is that Turgenev was right."

This is a judgment which we can never forget if we read his novels with any reflection or with any other aim than the pleasure of the moment. We involuntarily ask ourselves if any author as great as he was ever so consistent in his gentle melancholy. He is a man who paints a happy life but nowhere does it end happily. Futility reigns beneath the peaceful surface. Love exists but to be blighted. Strength develops but to be broken. From the exquisite irony with which Fate in the Nest of Nobles mocks the dreams of Lavretsky and the faith of Liza to the sudden disappearance of Asya or the cold and inexperienced righteousness of Aratov in Klara Milich, Turgenev speaks ever of the futility of all things in life and the senselessness of death. But it is only the thinker that realizes all this. The average reader will, of course, see the weakness of the men and the strength of the women but he will not realize that after all none of these great and strong and pure and noble women can ever lead a normal, happy life, a life as much of humanity still hopes to live it, not rising high nor falling low but pursuing that golden mean which the novelist's art so well imitates.

Turgenev pictures a dying life. When we think of the carefree existence of the nobles on these estates, of the indifference of the owners to the cares of daily life, we will see at once that such a dream could not continue forever, that there must be a reckoning, that it is but a short distance to the bankruptcy of the nobles in Chekhov's Cherry Orchard, and that the possibility of a solution to the problem of life is steadily diminishing. Yet like fruit which is most beautiful on the verge of decay, life in these country houses is becoming ever more alluring, ever more charming as the fatal hour draws nearer and nearer. These nobles are touching in their weakness. They have lost the will to govern. They have not lost the art of living. They realize their social responsibility but they cannot give up their privileges. It is the charm of the twilight, the last glow of beauty before the dawn of a drab morrow.

That same glow hangs over the personality of the author himself. No man received greater rewards, or won a warmer place in the heart of his friends and of the world than Turgenev and yet he never found himself. He never was able to chart out for himself a satisfactory road and march boldly along it. He had no place in the world and yet the world was

ready to give him anything which he desired. There was an unfilled void in his heart and life and his struggles to fill it

are pathetic.

He was born in Orel, October 28, 1818, in one of these nests of nobles. His father died when he was very young. His mother represented the worst results of the training of the day. She denied to her serfs the fundamental rights of humanity—let us even say of life itself, whether human or animal—and her own sons fared little better than the serfs. Turgenev's ideas of home were embittered by the constant conflict with her irresponsible whims, and in his later days he paid his mother the delicate compliment of naming after her the most repulsive of all of the women whom he drew, the wife of Lavretsky in A Nest of Nobles.

It was in such an environment that he developed his hatred of serfdom and chose the cause of Western civilization as other members of the Turgenev family had done for the preceding century since the days of Peter the Great. Literature allured him, and at Petersburg he became the friend of Byelinsky and Nekrasov and the other leaders of the forties. He is one of the few men of the day who were frankly radical and who had no desire to effect a reconciliation with the old

order in Russia.

His first works were in verse but they were not successful and he turned to prose. He fell into the fashionable imitations of Lermontov's Pechorin and his early stories are full of braggarts, rascals, loud-mouthed duelists, and others who conceal their own unreality and emptiness under a mask of impudence and rascality. Yet futility marks them all as it does in *Andrey Kolosov* where the narrator explains how he wooed and won a girl and then he never went back. He had ceased to love her—No, he did not have the spiritual force to carry out his word and his own desires. Weakness! Weakness! Weakness!

He worked out this type of character more fully in the Hamlet of the Shchigrov District, one of the stories included in the Memoirs of a Sportsman. Here we see a typical Rus-

sian gathering and during the night after the party one of the men tells to his companion in the neighboring bed the story of his life. It is a tale of failure, of the failure that comes from weakness. The boy goes up to the university well prepared but he lacks the capacity to do independent thinking. As he describes the life in the student body, he uses these biting phrases of the student circles which were becoming prominent: "A circle is a lazy and withered living together, to which people give the significance and form of a reasonable action; a circle replaces conversation with discussions, accustoms to fruitless chattering, distracts you from solitary, fruitful work, gives you the literary itch, deprives you, at last, of freshness and virgin purity of soul. A circle is commonplaceness and boredom under the name of brotherhood and friendship, the linking together of incomprehension and pretension under the pretext of frankness and sympathy; in a circle, thanks to the right of every friend at every time and at every hour to stick his dirty fingers into the heart of his companion, no one has a clean, untouched place in his soul; in a circle they bow to an empty orator, an egotistic smart Aleck, a premature old man; they elevate the poet, ungifted but with 'mysterious' thoughts; in a circle, young, seventeen-year-old little fellows discuss cleverly and wisely about women and love, and in the presence of women are silent or talk to them as if out of a book-and what will they talk about! In a circle clever oratory flowers; in a circle they watch one another not less than the police officials. . . . O circle! you're not a circle but a charmed ring, in which more than one decent man has perished."

Of course, such a theme deals with weakness, the weakness of the man who thinks and does not act. It is the superfluous man applied to scholarship and again and again Turgenev comes back to the type in his pictures of students, especially in *Smoke* and his later novels. Yet the story which sets forth this philosophy most clearly is *The Diary of a Superfluous Man*. The hero is dying of tuberculosis. His life is wasted. The girl he loves turns on him because he has

tried to save her from herself. Everything has gone wrong without an apparent cause and now at the end he diagnoses his own remedy. "Superfluous, superfluous, . . . That's an excellent word I thought out. . . . This word doesn't fit other people. . . . People are bad, good, clever, stupid, attractive, repulsive; but superfluous-... No. That is, understand me; the world could get along without these people . . . of course; but uselessness is not their chief quality, not their distinguishing mark, and when you think of them, the word superfluous is not the first that comes to your mind. And I . . . no one can say anything else: superfluous—and that's all. . . . In all my past I constantly found my place occupied, because perhaps I looked for it in the wrong place." So he rambles on, analyzing his inability to act, regretting everything but accomplishing nothing until death comes and claims him for its own.

This is the common theme with Turgenev but it was not on these stories that his reputation was based but on the series known as the *Memoirs of a Sportsman*. These are little sketches of country life. The author commences almost regularly with some description of a rural scene, a few remarks on hunting, and then he passes almost imperceptibly to a study of some aspect of peasant life. It is all very informal, very anecdotal, but the stories show Turgenev's mastery of art, his close observation of reality and his sympathy for the oppressed and the humble.

It is said that Alexander II kept a collection of these stories ever beside him and that it was they which persuaded him to issue his decree for the liberation of the serfs. If this is so, the stories owe their success to the skill with which their real goal is concealed. Here is no open and obnoxious indictment of the evils of serfdom; here is no attack on the nobles, no glorification of the peasant. Any such attempt would have come under the ban of the censor and more than that would have pained the author by its inartistic character. Instead of this, the hunter rambles across the woods and fields of Russia. Now he spends the night by a fire kept by a group of peasant

boys who are pasturing the village horses in the darkness. They tell ghost stories until they thoroughly frighten themselves (Byeshin Meadow). Or he stops with old Khor, the crafty, practical serf who constantly outwits his master and remains a serf to keep from paying taxes (Khor and Kalinich). Another time he listens to the tale of a country physician who narrates one of his unusual cases, the story of a girl who falls in love with him as she is dying and insists upon announcing their engagement.

In most of the stories there is not one word of criticism. Occasionally, as in Yermolay and the Miller's Wife, there is a different mood. Here the author meets an owner Zvverkov who treats his serfs kindly but his wife cannot endure to have a married maid around her and her devoted husband cannot imagine how the serfs can be so cruel as to wish to marry. This is almost as far as Turgenev ever goes. In Petr Petrovich Karatayev, we find another type of serf virtue. Karatayev, an empty but rather amusing young man, steals a girl from a neighboring estate because they love one another. The girl is finally discovered and then she returns to her mistress to be punished in order to prevent trouble for the man she loves. Thus Turgeney takes as his motto—the serfs too are There is no pleading, no attacking. The author human. only takes a page out of his memory and shows how the serfs have the same impulses, the same interests, the same passions, even the same vices as the masters, and he leaves the reader to draw his own conclusion.

Yet of all the writers of his day, the young Turgenev was perhaps the most strongly opposed to the established order of the day. He was ready to do anything to abolish the mass of brutality and of tyranny that still lay over Russia, and already he was beginning to look abroad for a place to live and work. He met Mme. Pauline Viardot-Garcia, a distinguished singer, and a remarkable friendship sprang up between them. As far as we can tell, there were few occasions when the relations ran their naţural course but for the rest of his life Turgenev made his home with or near her. For writing an

article on the death of Gogol in 1852 he was confined to his estates and then when he was released, he returned to Mme. Viardot. There is something pathetic in seeing the great writer in such a humiliating position. He would write little dramas for her pupils to act. He writes stories to be near her—in a word, wherever she and her husband went, Turgenev went also. Their house was his home, their friends, his friends, and when the family moved from Baden-Baden

to Paris, the great man went with them.

The intervening years dealt kindly with him. In France he had become the friend of Flaubert. He knew all the writers of France and England and they in turn liked and admired him. Unfortunately his relations with the other Russians were not so cordial. Twice Tolstoy challenged him to a duel and the friends of both had hard work to prevent a real encounter. Dostovevsky could not conceal his envy and his anger and in the Possessed savagely satirized him under the guise of Karmazinov, the empty-headed poet who is now planning to bid farewell to his public. Goncharov, too, became wildly jealous and claimed that Turgenev had stolen his plots. Yet these were but minor troubles. Each year he returned home for a few months to keep himself in touch with Russia, to refresh his impressions and to note the changes which had taken place since his last visit. In Western Europe he was constantly visited by the young Russians who were studying abroad, by the revolutionists who were living in exile, by the aristocracy and the poor. Small wonder then that he was able to portray so admirably the various steps in the national development, to note the difference from decade to decade and to embody them in his masterpieces.

There are six of these novels which reflect the political life of the time. They are Rudin (1855), A Nest of Nobles (1858), On the Eve (1859), Fathers and Children (1861), Smoke (1867), and Virgin Soil (1876). For more than twenty years Turgenev noted the different movements which rose and fell and chronicled them and their leaders. Yet there are certain startling facts. There is hardly a hero, a man of

firm will and of personal power in the series. Everywhere we see superfluous men striving to accomplish something which is too great for them and perishing in the struggle. Beside them stand girls who possess exactly those qualities of firmness and of decision which the men lack, girls able to sacrifice themselves unflinchingly for an ideal and whom no hardship, no difficulty can shake. They are a splendid galaxy of heroines, suffering only perhaps from an excess of virtue. They are almost too good, too pure, too idealistic to be human and to appeal to the taste of a cynical and questioning world.

Let us look at some of these novels a little more closely. Rudin is an example. A friend who is more or less hostile sums up his career as follows: "He was born in T . . . of poor land-owning parents. His father soon died. He was left with his mother. She was a very good woman and did not suspect his character; she lived only on oatmeal and spent on him all the money that she had. He was educated in Moscow, first at the expense of some uncle, and then when he grew up supported himself, at the expense of a rich princeling, with whom he sniffed up an acquaintance . . . excuse me, with whom he became friends. Then he entered the university. . . . Then he went abroad. . . . From abroad he wrote to his mother very rarely and visited her only once for ten days. The old woman died alone with strangers, but till she died she never took her eves from his picture. Her love for her Mitya was limitless. . . . Later I met Rudin abroad. There a girl had attached herself to him, a Russian blue stocking, neither young nor beautiful, as befits a blue stocking. He went around with her for quite a long time, and finally got rid of her . . . or no, excuse me; she dropped him. . . . That's all." This is a spiteful picture of the man and the speaker Lezhnev later admits he has been unjust. A man as he describes would have profited by it all and Rudin could not profit. As he confesses towards the end of his life, he never could turn his visions into reality, even to secure for himself a living and all he could do was to die in Paris on the barricades—after the insurrection has been put down. Superfluous! That is all we can say of Rudin. He is able to talk and to inspire. Natasha hears from him for the first time of all the great ideals of life, the possibilities of service to humanity. She is ready to leave home to follow the man she loves, when her mother forbids the union, and Rudin the superfluous declares that she must submit. He would give that advice and she finally marries Lezhnev, who has not the fire and the passion, the love and the ideals of Rudin, but who is able to get through the toil of the day, to accomplish the task of the moment without inspiration or discouragement.

Or take Lavretsky in A Nest of Nobles. Turgenev gives us his ancestry and we understand the curious mixture of strength and weakness which he presents. Here is a young man, physically fit and mentally keen, going up to the university without the most elementary knowledge of how to get along with women. He falls for the first girl who realizes that he is a desirable husband and marries her, but she has no idea of bothering with him and her infidelities soon come even to his attention. Broken hearted he returns to Russia and falls in love with his cousin Liza, one of the few religious characters whom Turgenev has drawn. The wife of course stands as a barrier and Lavretsky welcomes the news of her death. It is false and his hopes of happiness are definitely shattered. Thoroughly discouraged Lavretsky settles some of his estates on his wife and sets himself to work the rest. Liza enters a convent and passes to a living death. Around them cluster the other types. Here is Panshin, the rising young official, charming externally but within a bounder of the worst character; there is old Lemm, the aged German musician who has lost his hopes and aspirations and lives a pitiable old age. There is the dominating figure of Liza's old nurse who stands good and bad fortune with pious resignation and never murmurs though she has known the most extreme changes of fortune. There is Mikhailovich, the student ever learning and never able to come to a knowledge of the truth. Superfluous! Superfluous! But it is the most lyrical and consistent of all his novels.

The next novel is On the Eve and here Turgenev tried to draw a hero, a Bulgarian Insarov. Elena, another of his ideal heroines, has been wooed by two men, an artist Shubin and a scholar Bersenyev. Neither of them is great; neither of them possesses that life-giving force which leads them to make an outstanding figure of themselves, and so neither of them can long satisfy the nature of Elena. Insarov is different. His whole life is devoted to the theme of the liberation of Bulgaria. He knows what he must do and he does it. Whether he is hurling a drunken brawler into a lake or preparing an uprising, he acts and Elena throws herself into his work. They marry, but already death in the form of rapidly developing tuberculosis has laid its hand upon him and he dies a needless death in Venice soon after his wedding. Elena goes on and disappears from view among the thunders of a Balkan war. The comments on the novel are typical. One group of critics attempted to prove that after all Insarov too was superfluous, that he was only a poseur, hiding under a foreign garb the same weakness that the Russians had developed. Still others tried to show that Turgenev believed that as yet Russia possessed no real men but that in time they would come. This is probably the truer explanation but still the riddle stands. On the Eve-On the Eve of what? Turgeney does not answer.

He tried to give that answer in the personality of Bazarov, the nihilist, in Fathers and Children, really the greatest of his novels. As a nihilist Bazarov heads a long list of new figures. He represents the young men of the sixties in their strength and their weakness, for what is a nihilist? In later days we think of them as criminals, as bomb-throwers, as terrorists. Bazarov is none of these. In modern parlance he is merely a man overinspired by natural science. He has learned that there are natural laws. He has learned the value of the mind and he uses it as a new toy. Down with beauty, with art, with affection, with emotion! None of these things count a straw as compared with the intelligence, and so the young man sets himself to live a life of rigorous logic. He cannot justify the

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affection of his parents. It merely prevents him from working and so he leaves home. He cannot explain the conduct of the students at a party, and so he insults them. He cannot reason out his love for the fascinating Mme. Odintsova, and so he sums his emotions up in the phrase, What a beautiful body to dissect! He is dimly conscious the whole time that he is fooling himself but there is so much to do that he will not let his mind get into its inescapable dilemma. He tries to make Arkady Kirsanov one with himself but the young man is too human. At the end he falls in love with Katya, the younger sister of Odintsova and the two marry, settle down. care for their estates, and try thus to find some possible manner of living. Bazarov scorns him. He breaks with Odintsova, who is as unwilling to follow the guidance of her feelings as is Bazarov and he again returns home. Already the change is coming. He is beginning to realize that after all life is more than logic. He begins to help his father in his work, to become human, and then death strikes. Bazarov is infected with typhus and dies. Odintsova comes at his bidding, and both realize that their actions, though they might have been logical, had very little sense.

Opposed to these types of the younger generation stand the elders. Nikolay Kirsanov, father of Arkady, and his brother Pavel. Nikolay is like his son. He does his best; he tries to live as well as he can and he is constantly finding difficulties in adapting himself to the new conditions. He is torn between his love for his mistress and the ideas that his son may have and he is quite happy when Arkady urges him to marry her. Pavel is different. He is as set and as stubborn in his own way as is Bazarov. A once successful young man, he gave up an active career with a broken heart, and since then he spends his life, glorifying the British conception of nobility which involves service to the state-vet he never does a thing. He, a sceptic and a butterfly, talks of principles and of ideas. It is easy for Bazarov to smash through them but the two men speak entirely different languages. In their pride and obstinacy they represent the principles of the two

generations, the clash that goes on forever.

The novel created a storm. The older generation saw the ludicrous sides of Nikolav and Pavel and denounced the author. The younger men realized the weaknesses of Bazarov: they saw how unattractive some of their ideas were in reality and denounced the author for joining the reactionaries. They even tried to prove that Turgenev had joined the Imperial secret police and other such stupid legends were put into circulation. Turgenev was crushed. He realized that his popularity was gone forever, that his reputation would never recover from the blow, and he thought seriously of giving up writing. This is indicated in one of his most despairing tales -Enough, the memoirs of a dying artist. Enough! Turgenev felt that it was enough, that the end had come, but he was persuaded to keep on writing. Yet in one sense the end had come. The old Turgeney was no more. New notes made an appearance. New themes begin to occur to him and his later works bear a very different stamp upon them.

Smoke marks the reaction of Turgenev to the criticisms. At times he had criticized the students and laughed at the pretensions of the aristocrats. Now he speaks out the uselessness of both. The noisy squabbles at the quarters of Gubaryev promise little good for Russia. The cultured emigrés who gather at the fashionable hotels and talk of the evils of Russia are absolutely unable to solve the nation's problems. They do not even know that problems exist. Potugin with his bitter sallies on the unproductive nature of Russian culture is but repeating in sharper and bitterer form still earlier sallies. Yet with it all the protagonists still remain the same. Litvinov is a brother of Lavretsky and of Arkady. Like them he means well; like them his proper calling is the managing of his estates; like them he is unprepared to face the realities of life and so he falls a second time under the spell of Irina and it is only chance, the starting of the railroad train, that determines whether he will join her or she him. His meditation is the key to the book. "Smoke, smoke," he repeated several times; and suddenly everything appeared to him to be smoke, everything, his own life, Russian life-everything human, especially everything Russian. Everything is smoke and vapor, he thought; everything is constantly changing, everywhere there are new images, manifestations follow manifestations, and in reality everything remains the same. . . . He remembered much that had happened with thunder and roaring during the past years . . . smoke, he whispered. smoke: he remembered the heated quarrels, conversations and shouts at Gubarvev's and others high and low, progressive and reactionary, old and young . . . smoke, he repeated, smoke and vapor; he remembered finally the celebrated picnic, the decisions and speeches of the officials—and even all that Potugin had preached . . . smoke—smoke, and nothing else. And his own aspirations and feelings, his endeavors and dreams? He only waved his hand. Yet this pessimism does not prevent Irina, the social lioness, from being one of his most dazzling creations. There she stands, ambitious, passionate, never losing hold of the profitable even when it conflicts with all her feelings, splendid but most unfortunate in her self-possession and her power. If Turgenev had lost hope and heart, at least he had not lost his power and that gift remained throughout.

His last novel Virgin Soil is in many ways the weakest of all. There is little new here. There is the same theme in the dressing of the seventies. Nezhdanov, the poet, who feels that his art is a weakness does merely what Arkady did when he took Pushkin from his father and gave him a book on natural science to mark his civic duty, but Nezhdanov cannot rest content with this. He cannot master his artistic instincts just as he cannot bring himself to yield to them for Russia's sake. The result is disaster and suicide. Marianna belongs to the usual type of heroine, able and willing to sacrifice herself, thirsting for an opportunity. Around her gather the same types of careerists, of autocratic nobles, of intriguers. Their colors are a little blacker, they are less courteous, less suave, less sure of themselves, more convinced that they are right and less able to act upon their principles. The final hour is nearly twenty years nearer but otherwise nothing has changed. The one original character is Solomin, the factory manager, who sees that the old style of noble and the old style of revolutionist are both going down into a common grave and a common ruin. He realizes that a new order is coming and he is curiously prophetic of the tendency that made itself felt in Gorky. He is not an attractive nor a well-drawn figure. He is a mere outline of a type that Turgenev could not know and yet with artistic foresight felt. The novel was not popular. The younger generation of the seventies, the Nezhdanovs and the Maryannas felt it a travesty but they did not know themselves well enough to realize the kinship that they had with their predecessors and so they dismissed the work with a sneering judgment that Turgenev had gotten out of touch with Russia.

That ended the political series. The same years had witnessed a long series of tales of the life of the estate without the social and political touch. The message of these stories we know. A man, high-minded, idealistic, virtuous, loves a girl and his love is reciprocated. Something happens. A word is left unsaid, a thought unexpressed, some accident and they are parted forever. There is Asya who vanishes because the hero does not realize his love in time. There is First Love, the pathos of a son finding that his father is his rival. There is above all Spring Freshets where the story of Smoke is retold without its political side and with a somewhat different shift of emphasis. There are many of these tales and a list of them would only express how varied was the skill of Turgenev in presenting this terrible futility.

During this period of disillusionment Turgenev came back also to the type of story that made his reputation. There is for example King Lear of the Steppes. It is a story of a huge and powerful man who turns his property over to his daughters. Once sure of that, they steadily break the spirit of the old man, until he rises in futile revolt and dies in an accident. He falls from the roof while he is trying to tear down the house of his unfilial child. Or we can take Living Relics, the story of the peasant girl who falls from a porch

and is paralyzed. She develops a marvelous faith and resignation until the villagers look upon her as a saint.

In this story which is included in the Memoirs of a Sportsman, there is a distinct religious touch that was rare in the earlier work of Turgeney. Here it takes the form of religion but in many others it becomes a ghost, something supernat-The last years of the author's life were filled with stories of mysterious happenings. Some have seen in it the influence of Maupassant and French writers but it was probably a wakening of that mysticism which is so widespread in the Russian character, even when it is not allowed to appear. Knock, Knock, Knock; The Dog; The Song of Triumphant Love, all tell of this in one way or another. Story of Father Aleksyev treats of the possession of a human soul by the devil. Klara Milich, the last of his stories, describes an actress who commits suicide when she is not accepted by a young man who is thoroughly unacquainted with life and how she comes back to him before he dies. They are interesting tales but this was not Turgenev's special field and these stories must almost all be ranked lower than his less mysterious productions.

Finally we must mention *Poems in Prose*. They are little sketches, often only a few lines in length, little silhouettes of thought, of action. Yet in their own way they are perfect gems of art, and in them Turgenev speaks more clearly than anywhere else his appreciation of the revolutionary changes that must come over Russia, his detestation of the imperial régime and also his questioning as to the system that will follow. Nowhere at any time did he draw a leader of the future. Nowhere at any time did he create a man who could live and work for Russia. Everywhere he shows only the failure, the man who is unable to rise to the occasion.

The last years of his life were sad and marred with illness. He still remained near Mme. Viardot, but for nearly two years he was crushed to earth by cancer of the spine, and finally he died in France at Bougival, August 22, 1883. His body was taken to Russia and despite the efforts of the authorities there was a great demonstration.

Turgenev was the most Western of all the writers. He was most fully impregnated with the spirit of the West. His literary form is one with the West and he pictures life in such a way that we of the West can understand and appreciate it. Yet he was a Russian. He could not live in Russia but perhaps we may be tempted to inquire whether he did not find as did Pavel Kirsanov, despite his successes in the society of Baden-Baden, that life was hard, far harder than he ever dreamed or admitted.

Be that as it may, the nests of nobles were passing with the changing years. New men were rising to take the place of the old families which were falling to ruin. The shadow of the revolution, of the parvenue was creeping over the idyllic life which he pictured and the background against which he wrote was steadily changing. That led in turn to a certain drop in his popularity abroad. Today the great side of Turgenev is not his keen appreciation of the forces around him, of the conditions of the day, but his analysis of the superfluous man and of the heroic woman, two persons who will remain so long as the human race is with us on this planet.

THE MASS PRODUCTION OF LAWS

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

THESE are the days of mass production with problems as well developed in the realm of law as in other fields. In this case the development springs from many causes, the principal one being the facility with which laws can be enacted, the frequency with which legislatures meet, the prevalence of log rolling, and, above all, the prevailing belief among a great number of people that souls can be saved by a law, character made and controlled by the same means, and the effect of natural laws overcome or curtailed. Only a short time ago I observed the proposition seriously advanced that Congress ought to be in session so as to overcome the drought! The omniscience of the legislature out-distances the arrogance of Canute.

As Edwin E. Slosson said on one occasion just after Congress convened, "It is a great comfort to have a Congress like ours, one that we can rely on to settle any question offhand, perhaps without the need of discussion: geographic questions, such as the ethic and linguistic boundaries of European countries that have been fought over for centuries; chemical questions like the fixation of nitrogen; cosmical questions like the nature of space." The latest and most sweeping demonstration of this ability, he pointed out, was the passage by the House of an act in which it was "declared and reaffirmed that the ether within the limits of the United States, its territories and possessions, is the inalienable possession of the people thereof."

"This," he said, "nips in the bud one of the most revolutionary movements of modern thought, which has caused much disturbance in scientific circles, the theory of relativity proposed by Einstein."

Recently I found among my papers a memorandum running somewhat as follows:

Our good friend, Don Quixote, tells us that the ass will carry his load, but not a double load; ride not a free horse to death.

"Information and warning in one. Wise men remember it as a matter of experience, and some day even an old truck horse, like the over-burdened American taxpayer, will reach the end of his patience. From a snort or kick we have heard lately we would not be surprised if he has arrived at the point. A 'Too Many Laws' campaign ought to be organized and set afoot by some of the more substantial wide-awakes of the country. It would gather momentum fast and furiously; at least we hope so.

"This multiplicity of laws has become a curse to the country and the addition of taxes a ban to business and happiness. The ass's load has been more than doubled and the free horse is almost ready to drop in his tracks. Nobody knows better than the rider when a horse begins to get angry. A Michigan congressman came out for fewer and simpler laws. When lawmakers themselves raise the alarm, the rest of us may take courage. All that is needed to end this orgy is to make it unpopular. Unpopularity is the one thing a vote-seeker will not hazard. Right always triumphs at the polls when it becomes popular. The taxpayers' only hope of relief lies in that. There is just one language spoken in the land of politics and that is a language of votes."

Whether this memorandum is one of my own or is a quotation from another, I am not sure; but it puts the case in a nutshell.

The National Industrial Council reported that thirty-nine state legislatures during 1925 had poured into the legislative hopper 49,986 measures and that 13,018 had become state laws and were added to the statute books.

William P. Helms, Jr., a keen student who has worked long and intelligently in the study of legislation, wrote in 1927 that there were ten million laws in the United States, or about one for every twelve inhabitants. The ten million, of course, includes all federal and state statutes and city ordinances, but

not, apparently, that vast mass of local and federal departmental rulings that have all the force of law and little of its sweet reasonableness.

The recent session of Congress enacted 1,524 new laws. The 250-page final edition of the Congressional Record disclosed that about twenty-four thousand federal laws have been enacted since 1900. Of this number, fifteen thousand were passed during the first ten years, three thousand in the next decade, and six thousand in the last ten years. The 1931 state legislatures are still to be reckoned with.

Another statistician about the beginning of the War made some interesting computations as to the law-making capacity of our legislatures as compared with that of other nations. According to his figures the combined output of our legal factories, otherwise known as Congress and the several state legislatures, totaled 62,250 in five years, as compared with 1,500 enacted by the British Parliament in twice that period.

Still another estimate is that contained in a recent article by the president of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad. In the course of discussing how railroads are curbed (and he might have said with a fair measure of propriety, cursed) by useless laws he pointed out that for years the railroads have been the sport of politicians. From the shoulders of the railroads they have climbed into office. "They have sandbagged, hamstrung, and hogtied management," he said, "until just now it is groggy and but slowly turns the wheels of industry. How overwhelming these assaults have been you may surmise when Babbitt tells us that 62,014 new laws were passed by the State Legislature between 1909 and 1913. If this ratio were maintained—and it probably was exceeded— 200,000 more laws since then have been passed, the bulk of them to harass, circumscribe, and destroy management. The most dangerous of these laws is the creation and development of bureaucracy."

While these figures are only approximate, they serve to give one a fair impression of what may appropriately be called mass production in legislation.

No living man, I think it can fairly be said, knows how many laws we actually have. Certainly no one has ever read them all, or ever will. From time to time, it is found that even our courts are unable to distinguish fact from theory and assumption from statute law. America is responsible for the statement that former Solicitor-General Beck discovered that several federal district courts had cited as a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States what in reality was part of an opinion written by a subordinate in the Department of Justice, afterwards discharged for incompetence. If federal courts do not know the difference between law or precedent and the private views of a fledgling barrister, much may be forgiven the ordinary citizen who to his dismay finds that he is a disturber of the peace and good order of the community.

The federal government since 1927 has been trying to keep track of the laws passed; it publishes a biennial volume giving a digest as well as a list of the number enacted by each state legislature. The showing is remarkable. The chief object of our legislators seems to be to attain a high total of laws, regardless of their nature or quality. The assemblyman or senator who cannot show a large total of laws that he has pressed through has small hope for reëlection. He knows this, and he therefore makes it a point to get his name attached to as many laws as possible, regardless of their quality or necessity.

As Senator Moses said in an address before the Philadelphia Central High School, "I have been struck by this fact. In my own State a judge said that there is hardly any form of human activity which has not been regulated by law. Even a cursory examination of the statutes amazes one by the great variety of innovations. We realize how many laws of employment and recreation which had been considered legitimate for generations are now closed or not permitted. We know that stallions, births, deaths, and marriages have to be registered. Hunters, chauffeurs, plumbers, lightning-rod vendors, hospitals, dogs, peddlers, insurance agents, and junk dealers have to be licensed. One cannot run a motor vehicle, carry a

revolver, set a trap, or build a fire on his own land without a permit. One cannot practice law, medicine, dentistry, embalming, or chiropody without passing an examination. Considering the care and oversight which is now exercised in our behalf by Legislature, we wonder how our ancestors ever reached maturity without the protection of the law!"

These remarks of the astute and alert senator for New Hampshire, bring to mind some doggerel verses that are really

very much to the point:

Are your neighbors very bad?
Pass a law!
Do they smoke? Do they chew?
Are they always bothering you?
Don't they do as you would do?
Pass a law!

Are your wages awful low?
Pass a law!
Are the prices much too high?
Do the wife and babies cry
'Cause the turkeys all roost high?
Pass a law!

When M.D. finds new diseases,
Pass a law!
Got the mumps or enfermesis,
Measles, croup or "expertisis"?
Lest we all fly to pieces,
Pass a law!

Are the lights aburning red?
Pass a law!
Paint 'em green, or paint' em white?
Close up all them places tight!
My! Our town is such a sight
Pass a law!

No matter what the trouble is,
Pass a law!
Goodness sakes, but ain't it awful!
My! What are we going to do?
Almost anything ain't lawful,
And the Judge is human too
Pass a law!

Mrs. Partington tried her best to sweep back the rising Atlantic, but the more vigorously she applied the broom the higher the tide; similarly it seems that the more we try to sweep back the rising tide of laws, the higher rises the tide of vice and crime. We mean well, as one observer remarks, and perhaps deserve some credit for our energy; "but the fact that this energy is impotent to produce the desired effect should prompt an investigation. Many of these regulations are vicious because they are a state invasion into the realm of morals. We seek to do by legislative enactment what belongs to the school, the church, and the home. We fail because a constable cannot take the place of a priest, nor can the coercion of a police matron be substituted for the precepts of a mother."

The situation would be bad enough if only the laws in force were left on the statute books, but while new ones are added, old ones linger on to the confusion of the law abiding citizens and to the confounding of those who insist that every law on the books must be equally enforced. Whether we like to admit it or not, there is a truly great amount of repeal by nullification or by indifference if we may judge by the number of laws still on the statute books that are completely ignored or that have been whittled down to the vanishing point. In an article which he appropriately labelled "Lunatic Legislation," William Seagle recently pointed out that the laws of vesterday are always disturbing the legislators of today as possible objects of repeal. It is remarkable, he said, "what stamina most old cracker-jack laws show. When they reach a certain age they achieve such venerability that it is considered almost sacrilegious to tamper with them. Thus almost all sessions see futile attempts to repeal the old Blue Laws."

Lately concerted attempts have been made to repeal many old laws en masse, but with very meager results considering their number and variety. There are still many old laws on the books forbidding horses trotting over bridges or women going into saloons. In the Rhode Island session the lawgivers had a great deal of fun with a youthful colleague's bill to abolish the ancient office of inspectors of lime, scythe-stones,

and cables. In 1925 the Massachusetts general court was torn by a bill to repeal the state anti-hatpin law, but the attempt came to nothing when the Senate, which naturally stands for age and tradition, killed the bill after it had passed the House. The anti-hatpin law is one of the standing jokes of the commonwealth, and many Bostonians are sensitive on the subject. Of quite as little avail was an attempt in the Kansas legislature to repeal a law of 1877 that permits calling out all ablebodied citizens to fight grasshoppers. On the other hand, an old South Carolina law that made it a misdemeanor to give a check for less than a dollar was finally repealed in 1927.

Of course there is another side to the question which the research assistant in legislation at the University of California set forth in The American Bar Association Journal (perhaps the fact that he specialized in legislation predisposes him to favor large crops of specimens). Here is the nub of his argument: "To illustrate, the statutes as of January 1, 1930, which would be of general interest to the people living in New York City—in what is perhaps the most complex civilization which the world has ever known-could be found in eight volumes requiring less than eighteen inches of shelf space. The volumes are the Code of Ordinances of the City of New York (1 vol.); the Greater New York Charter (1 vol.); the Consolidated Laws of New York (1 vol. and 2 supplements); the Civil Practice Laws of New York (1 vol.): the Code of Criminal Procedure and Related Laws of New York (1 vol.): and the Code of the Laws of the United States (1 vol.). All these volumes contain elaborate indexes, and the space required would be reduced by several inches if satisfactory unannotated editions of the Charter, the Civil Practice, and the Criminal Code volumes were available, and if there were a 1929 edition of the Consolidated Laws, eliminating the two supplementary volumes which consist principally of amendments and revisions of the material in the main volume."

How reassuring to the average layman!

Special enactments, which concern only particular persons, places, or things, this expert assures us, are not included in this discussion, and it is not contended of course, that general statutes, or laws, constitute the whole body of law—verily, there are also such things as administrative and judicial rules and decisions, many volumes of them. His discussion was concerned only with the amount of the output of the legislature affecting the general public, since that is what the criticisms so unfairly attack. In this connection he makes the further assertion "that the general statutes *in force* [the italics are mine] in any jurisdiction can be included in a very few volumes."

These two contentions raise two highly important questions: Who is to determine which laws are of special limited or local applications and who is to adjudge which laws are in force? Are the decisions to be rendered by the laymen, or even the legislative expert? Or are they matters for the determination of the courts, already greatly overburdened?

Senator Morrow has advanced an idea that may be regarded somewhat in the nature of a defense or at least as an excuse for the mass production of laws. He proposed at the outset of his campaign for nomination—or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he revived the proposal—for the establishment of forty-eight legislative laboratories. His particular reference was to the experiment of prohibition, but it can as well be applied to any other social or economic experiment within the purview of government. "I look forward to the time," said Mr. Morrow, "when the moral teachers of the country will realize that there was wisdom in the old system of experimenting in forty-eight laboratories, rather than in one."

That this is sound Republican doctrine is to be gathered from the fact that the platform of the convention in which Abraham Lincoln was nominated in 1860 declared "That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce

the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes." That it is, or perhaps I should say was, sound Dem-

ocratic doctrine ought to go without saying.

Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes comes to the defense of the law makers (although his defense must not be taken to mean that he approves of every legislative effort. God forbid!). In an address before the Federal Bar Association last February, he pointed out that we are "vexed with a multiplicity of laws, observing the defects in the administration of justice, finding himself subjected to delays and sometimes heavy expenses in vindicating his rights under uncertain laws. it is small wonder that the victim cries out against law itself. But whatever reason there may be for dissatisfaction in particulars, the law is the vital breath of democratic institutions. It represents the accepted principle, the adopted rule of action. The essence of the matter is that we escape the unbridled discretion of despotic rulers only by the restrictions which constitute the right of law. As William Pitt sententiously observed. 'Where law ends there tyranny begins.' And it is our business to see to it that when law begins tyranny shall end. The just balance is to be found in democracy, or under the constitutional system of our Republic, in making the rules of society, which we call law, responsive to common sense."

This may be as simple in theory as the Chief Justice said, but it is most difficult in practice; "the art of government of the people, by the people and for the people, is the most difficult of all arts. In the days of less complicated conditions, it was the accepted view that legislatures were equal to their task of law-making and that in their occasional sessions they could provide all the rules that were necessary. But, despite the inordinate multiplication of laws, which has been especially characteristic of recent times, the legislatures have not been able to keep pace with social demands, and they have adopted the practice, after the formulation of some very general standards, of turning over the business of regulation to a great variety of administrative agencies. The making of reg-

ulations is, of course, essentially legislative in character, for they set forth what the citizens may and may not do." This is certainly the trend, but it is a serious question whether it is in the right direction.

Thus we are confronted by the distinctive development of our era, the control of the activities of the people by government bureaus in state and nation. This multiplication of administrative bodies with large powers has raised anew for our law, after three centuries, the problem of "executive justice"; perhaps more correctly styled "administrative justice." A host of controversies as to private rights are no longer decided in courts, but by federal boards, an insidious trend toward centralization as former Governor Christianson of Minnesota declared at a conference of governors, "an almost imperceptible but ever continuing shift which threatens the indissoluble union by undermining the authority of the indestructible States."

This tendency toward government by law-making and regulation-making is fraught with serious dangers, not only for the reasons briefly alluded to, but because it makes for the substitution of law for character. There are a goodly number of most estimable persons, who, either because they live too far removed from the haunts of men to know how and why things happen in this work-a-day world, or because they themselves believe all they see in print, or because they take too seriously the boasts of our orators that ours is a government of laws and not of men, hold firmly to the opinion that there is in a statute a certain alchemy whereby the elements of leaden soddenness and brazen vice that enter into the composition of society may in an instant be transmuted into the pure gold of spirituality. All such overlook the fundamental fact that law is but one means of control.

We must not ignore the fact so clearly announced by Calvin Coolidge while President in a speech delivered at the unveiling of the statue to Francis Asbury, the pioneer Methodist bishop in America. "We cannot depend upon the Government," the President declared, "to do the work of religion.

An act of Congress may indicate that a reform is being or has been accomplished, but it does not itself bring about a reform. The government of a country never gets ahead of the religion of a country." It is well to remember this, when we are seeking for social reforms. Of course, we can help to restrain the vicious and furnish a fair degree of security and protection by legislation and police control, but the real reforms which society in these days is seeking will come as a result of our religious convictions, or they will not come at all. We cannot escape a personal responsibility for our own conduct. We cannot regard those as wise or safe counsellors in public affairs who deny these principles and seek to support the theory that society can succeed when the individual fails.

"There is no way by which we can substitute the authority of law for the virtue of man. Peace, justice, humanity, charity—these cannot be legislated into being. They are the result of a divine grace."

There is another feature that cannot be overlooked with safety, namely, the tendency to disregard or ignore laws, and so eventually to nullify them. Our publicists, like James Truslow Adams, Professor William E. Dodd, and the late Arthur T. Hadley, have not hesitated to write on our "lawless heritage" as they call it. Dodd's thesis in a recent article was that the very hands that built the framework of the republic broke its laws when it suited them. Even before that. the first Americans were conspicuous for breaking their agreements with the Indians and resorting to massacre when they deemed it necessary to extend the area of conquest. released from the long subordination to European feudalism and accustomed to think land and beginning and the end of all good things," he writes in the New York Times Magazine. "could not be restrained, even in the face of horrible massacres, from immediate violation of all rules and treaties enacted by themselves or promulgated from the other side of the Atlantic."

Coming down to a later date he cites the brazen and continued violation of the Federal Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1807

by men powerful enough to control governorships, to dominate Congressional delegations, and to guide federal courts and cabinets. In retaliation this led to the protesting of violations of other federal laws enacted by large majorities of both houses of Congress: the statute of 1793 for the return of fugitive slaves from Northern states, and the act of 1856 that had the support of courts and states alike.

To this day the most pious and socially minded people of the Eastern and Mid-Western states, avowed pacifists, boast privately and before public audiences that their fathers and grandfathers joined the mobs of the 1850's, and stayed up of nights to man the underground railroads in order that national laws might be made null and void. And yet "these same people complain bitterly of the wholesale violation of the Volstead Law. It is a habit of lawlessness and a false notion that contempt of unliked statutes is the best means of their repeal."

Naturally the increase of laws by mass production strengthens this tendency as the more laws enacted which only a minority want, the more laws there will be for the majority to break, ignore, defy, or nullify.

VINCENT O'SULLIVAN

CAREY McWILLIAMS

D EADERS of *The Nation*, it has been said, may be divided into two classes: those who read the entire magazine and those who read only the letters from readers. However this may be, if you were reading the column of letters on December 7, 1927, you would have noticed a rather long letter bearing the caption of "The Perils of Paris" and signed by Vincent O'Sullivan. The letter had to do with the recent visit to Paris of the American Legion and closed with a rather amusing note on the very moral reception accorded Colonel Lindbergh. Of this O'Sullivan said: "It was as much as one's life was worth to mention the word 'night' in connection with Lindbergh. I thought of sending him Young's Night Thoughts, but counsels of prudence prevailed." And you might have asked, who is Vincent O'Sullivan? or you might have reflected that perhaps you had seen or heard the name before. It is, indeed, surprising that the name is not better known, particularly in this pseudo-literary age in which we are living. Ignorance of O'Sullivan's work actually savors of the marvelous, but further comment on his neglect would not throw much light on his achievements, however much it might imply of the fatal deficiencies of some of our leading critics.

Vincent O'Sullivan was born in New York City on November 28, 1872. He was educated in the Columbia Grammar School, New York, at Loches (France), and at Exeter College (Oxford). As a young man of literary ambitions who had attended Oxford at a time when the movement commonly known as the Renaissance of the Nineties was in its infancy, it was inevitable that he should become a contributor to *The Savoy*. At an early age he contributed a very sophisticated essay in which he took his place in the vanguard of the young rebels who were leading the revolt against romanticism. That he played a rather important part in the movement is shown by the fact that his name is recorded in the histories of the period by Holbrook Jackson and Bernard Muddiman.

A Book of Bargains, O'Sullivan's first volume, was published by Leonard Smithers, London, in 1896. It is a collection of seven stories, or bargains as they are called, in which the protagonists bargain with fate and invariably go down to defeat. The volume is finely printed and has a frontispiece by Aubrey Beardsley. The stories are of uneven merit, but the first one, "The Bargain of Rupert Orange," is an able bit of work, and is written in a flawless style. The other stories are all well written, and they succeed, occasionally, in striking a note of remarkable beauty. It is a collection which even to-day would attract attention; published in 1896, amidst the lilies of Victorian fiction, it must have created a furore.

The next volume to appear was a book of verse, *Poems*, published in 1896 by Elkins Mathews, in an edition of five hundred copies with a vignette by Selwyn Image, afterwards Slade Professor of Art at Oxford. O'Sullivan has been known of recent years as a writer of excellent occasional verse and it is not surprising to find some excellent pieces in this early volume. The volume is, like most of O'Sullivan's work, a rare collector's item and copies are almost unobtainable. Space will permit of only one quotation, a lyric, "Papillons Du Pavè," which reads:

A butterfly, a queer red thing, Comes drifting idly down the street: Ah, do not now the cool leaves swing, That you must brave the city's heat?

A butterfly, a poet vain, Whose life is weeping in his mind, And all the dreaming of his brain Is blighted by the dusty wind.

A painted butterfly sits there, Who sickens of the café's chaff; And down the sultry evening air She flings her sudden weary laugh.

The volume also contains translations from the poetry of François Coppée, Alfred Poussin, and Charles Paudelaire.

The next volume of O'Sullivan's to appear was The Houses

of Sin, published in an elaborate edition by Leonard Smithers, London, in 1897. This was, also, a volume of verse, and it has a cover design said to be one of the finest Beardsley ever did. Fine lines, sharp pictures, and a musical cadence mark these verses. I am aware of the fact that such "moderns" as Babette Deutsch (who recently had occasion to demonstrate her total inability to find a single merit in George Sterling's poetry), would have nothing but scorn for this type of verse. But then tastes change rapidly and isn't even Babette just a bit passé to-day? Some thirty-two years after their publication, one can still experience delight over these lines from O'Sullivan's sonnet. "A Slave of the Streets":

Standing at draughty corners she will mutter Hoarse snatches of old songs with vague regret; And then, remembering the erstwhile coquette, With mincing walk and sodden smile and flutter Hasten to greet the sweetheart, who with stutter And heavy drunken feet is left her yet: Till she, becoming drunk too in his debt, Feels the earth rise and tumbles in the gutter.

Waked roughly from sweet dreams of country lawn, She gathers up her coil of muddy hair, Adjusts its gingerly, and tries to fawn On cabmen to accept her charms for fare: But when the saving lamps go blind at dawn, She laughs her curses in the vacant air.

Surely Ernest Dowson or Arthur Symons never did anything better than this sonnet by an American who figured so conspicuously in one of the most exciting decades in English literature that his countrymen have neglected him ever since, while they cling fondly to such names as Crackanthorpe, Davidson, and Lionel Johnson.

In 1898 appeared Leonard Smithers' superb edition of Ben Jonson's Volpone, with an introduction by Vincent O'Sullivan, and a frontispiece, five initial letters, and a cover design by Aubrey Beardsley. The frontispiece by Beardsley is, I think, one of the finest things he ever did. The wealth of detail, the delicate suggestion, the marvelously expressive

lines, make the design a masterpiece. It represents Beardsley's art at its highest level. O'Sullivan's essay on Jonson is what one would expect: suave, delicate, shrewd, and charmingly written. In fact the essay challenges comparison with the studied critical gestures of Max Beerbohm.

In 1899 Leonard Smithers published an elaborate edition of "The Raven" and "The Pit and the Pendulum" by Poe, with seven illustrations and a cover design by William Thomas Horton, and an introduction by O'Sullivan. It is one of the curious things about O'Sullivan's obscurity that this essay, like the unforgettable illustrations of Horton, has been passed unnoticed. Neither Joseph Wood Krutch, nor James Southall Wilson (Edgar Allan Poe Professor of English in the University of Virginia), nor Dr. John W. Robertson, foremost Poe bibliographer, seem to be familiar with this essay which adumbrated by over a quarter of a century much of the current theorizing about Poe's work. O'Sullivan writes me from Paris that he has recently written an extended essay on Poe, but at the present time it has not been published.

The Green Window, published also in London by Leonard Smithers, appeared in 1899. It is a collection of twenty-five sketches. These delicate pictures of sentiment are exquisitely done, and suggest a likeness with much of the current French insistence on concise, vivid, striking prose. There is a sharpness of feeling about these studies, a startling precision, that leaves an impression not easily forgotten. They serve to bite a jaded imagination into an awareness of life and to force the cynical into a new appreciation of the possibilities of pathos.

With this volume may be said to have closed *The Savoy* period of Mr. O'Sullivan's writing. He was part and parcel of the entire movement: a contributor to its leading review; his books published by the foremost printer of the time; his stories and verses illustrated by Beardsley, the genius of the entire movement. O'Sullivan should some day write his memoirs of this period. He has, however, in one story called "Olivia Mist," published in *The Century* for November, 1916, told us something of the time. The story has to do with the

meeting, in a deserted resort, of an English author and a young American faddist—Miss Olivia Mist. The young author is quite proud of having known Max Beerbohm in the High at Oxford, and he speaks of his friends and associates in the school of art to which he belongs as follows:

If poets or painters had relatives—mothers or aunts or suchlike—who lived in opulent conditions, they did their best to conceal them. It almost labeled a man as an amateur at once if it came out that his uncle had a country estate or that his aunt was the wife of a wealthy lawyer. In the same way there was only one excuse for living in luxurious quarters, and that was to be in debt. There was something daredevil and Balzacian about that which tended to enhance a man's artistic qualities.

and he further adds in the same amusing manner,

But it was another iron rule in my school of art not to take poetic inspiration from rural scenes or vegetables or from anything, in fact, which had not been touched to a different beauty by artifice.

"The Renaissance of Wonder," as W. G. Blaikie Murdoch has characterized the Nineties, came to an end with the birth of the twentieth century. The school of art which required everything to be "touched to a different beauty by artifice" was shouted out of existence by the vigorous bombast of Rudyard Kipling and the strident prose of W. E. Henley. Fashions had changed and the young gentlemen who had worn "green carnations" with Mr. Wilde found their leaders dead, or out of favor, or in disgrace. And so in the story Miss Olivia Mist comes to reproach the young writer for his pathetic allegiance to a school of aesthetics that is no more, but he replies:

What is the use? Beardsley is good enough artist for me, Symons a good enough critic, Dowson a good enough poet, Crackanthorpe a good enough tale-teller. To the persuasions and incantations of Olivia, I could reply only as the pagans in St. Augustine's time used to reply to the Christians: 'Why trouble? Why follow us about? We don't want to be saved.'

In 1902 Grant Richards published in London a collection of stories by O'Sullivan under the name of A Dissertation Upon Second Fiddles. Ignored by critics for a quarter of a century, passed unnoticed by every selfconstituted lecturer

on the fine arts for two decades, this volume vet remains one of the most unique collection of stories written by an American. The stories deal with characters eternally destined to the rôle of second fiddle, and yet the thought is rather shyly suggested throughout that these self-effacing individuals really dominate and control the types with which they are contrasted. The book is perhaps the best single example of O'Sullivan's characteristic manner of gentle irony. Where can one find such an ironic story as "Of Friends"? Its closing paragraphs are unforgettable. It is full of understanding mingled with pity-irony sweetened with pathos. There are those who would prefer any one of the four stories in this volume to the best of Mr. Cabell's, and I confess myself of this group. I have said that the volume is unique, and this is so, for where could you duplicate its involved, deftly balanced, ingratiating sentences? To match their note of innocent irony you would have to turn back to Anatole France.

"For who detects and understands irony?" asks one of the characters in this collection of stories. Surely not the American and English reading public of the last twenty-five years or such a volume would not have failed to attract discerning eyes. Take the story of Mr. Rear, editor of *The Gymnasium*, found in this collection. It is matchless satire. Mr. Rear is duplicated twenty-fold in modern literary America, where the sons of our hog butchers have turned novelists and book dealers and have won favor by the application of the barter-instinct to literature. Of this type of "editor" Mr. O'Sullivan writes:

To all this he came, not as you may suppose by any quality having the least relation to genuine literature; but by his sure instinct for barter;—though he was wont to say, ere he smothered his origin, which it was not long till he did, that his clod-headed parents had spoiled a fine genius for letters when they bred him to a trade. But all his life, music was to him as muslin; and books as baby-linen.

We have a veritable army of literary "explorers," constantly searching for "neglected" geniuses to exploit, unearthing, and re-unearthing, such men as H. B. Fuller and Ambrose Bierce. The marvel is that O'Sullivan has mercifully escaped

their vulgar touch. He doesn't—and I hereby assure them and you of the fact—give a damn for critical attention. Such recognition would drive him to delirium tremens. What price Herald-Tribune publicity? O'Sullivan, who enjoyed the appreciation and praise of a generation of very gifted critics in the Nineties, can afford to be amused by the ritualistic criticism of our current reviews. He lives in Paris, enjoying life, writing an occasional article or letter to the press, and realizing all the while that his contemporaries are consummate asses who have slaughtered themselves in the eyes of common intelligence and who will die 'ere the ink cools on their latest auto-biographical novels written out of endless vanity in the hope that people will spy through the guise of character and detect them in the rôle of adept adulterers.

In 1907 appeared Human Affairs, another collection of stories by O'Sullivan, published by David Nutt in London. Written so long ago, as time now is counted, these stories remain strikingly novel in manner and tone. They were far in advance of their times when published. "The Bars of the Pit," "After Dinner," and "The Great Moment" are stories which if published to-day would attract immediate attention. "After Dinner" is a typical O'Sullivan story: a simple incident: completely envisioned: beautifully written. It is a piece of still life; an etching from reality. "Verschoyle's House" is the most ambitious story in the volume, and, as one might expect, the least successful. It is written to conform with a seventeenth century pattern, every detail labored over so as to be accurate beyond cavil. If the story seems a bit archaic and stilted, be assured that it was written deliberately and with studied effect, for it is meant to give just such an impression.

O'Sullivan is known in America to-day, if known at all, by only one book, *The Good Girl*, a novel. Yet previous to its appearance he had published six volumes and written introductions for two more, not to mention a few plays and a wealth of magazine material never reprinted in book form. I have not seen a copy of the English edition of *The Good Girl* but it must have been published prior to 1912, for in that year

E. P. Dutton & Company bought the sheets from Constable and Company in London and sold the edition. There was a later American edition published by Small, Maynard, and Company, but this was in 1914. The English edition enjoyed a rather decent sale and was, or so I am informed, well received. The American edition drew the fire of the Comstocks at once and was virtually forced out of print.

Have you ever read this novel? It is full of slow magic. A second or a third reading is required. There have been few novels by an American author that will brook comparison with The Good Girl when considered solely as a work of art. It is written with perfect grace and is the product of a cultured. philosophic intelligence. Irony creeps into the story, insinuates itself into your consciousness before you are aware of its presence, for the manner is quite guileless. The character of Mrs. Dover—"that voluptuous, ageless, pagan" as Mr. Boynton described her-is as finely conceived and as fully delineated as any character in modern fiction. Perhaps the secret of the book's charm is its completeness, the way in which it exhausts every possibility of the story, for as John Cowper Powys wrote at the time of its publication: "It is a work of genius in every sense of that word, and it produces on the mind that curious sense of completeness and finality which only such works produce." You close the last page with a sigh that synchronizes exactly with the theme of the story and the evolution of that story in the readers' mind for it becomes a part of your consciousness. The rhythms throughout are subject to no correction.

In 1913 appeared Sentiment and Other Stories, published by Duckworth and Company, London. Later, Small, Maynard, and Company published "Sentiment" somewhat lengthened and revised as a novel. It was never meant for a novel and its publication as such was a mistake. The English edition contains nine stories not reprinted in the American edition, one of which, "Mrs. Turner," is a minor masterpiece, a perfect portrait of one of those gentle, unassuming souls that O'Sullivan can so completely understand and so poignantly create. "Sentiment," as a story, is a fine bit of work, full of O'Sul-

livan's characteristic irony, an irony which, I must reiterate. is so finely spun that it is difficult to detect. It is, for this reason, only the more embracing since there is no necessity for direct statement such as Mr. Cabell is sometimes forced to adopt. The irony of O'Sullivan's manner is almost unwritten; you are conscious of it at times and yet outwardly the man maintains such a perfect literary demeanor that it is easy to see how his stories might be passed over as simply conventional pieces. The American edition of "Sentiment" is divided into parts and contains some notes that are absent from the English edition. For example, Part I is opened with this statement from Mallarme, "Oh, but that doesn't prevent sentiment," and Part II contains this note on the opening page, "Mendelssohn-Chopin Development." This is about as obvious as O'Sullivan ever becomes, but then the fellow knew the edition was intended for the American public! The illusory, sweet, fickle, unhealthy nature of "sentiment" was never, perhaps, better stated than in this story; surely it never received a more suavely ironic treatment.

Several of O'Sullivan's best stories have not been reprinted, save in anthologies. Of this type are "The Interval," published in the Boston Transcript, originally, and later reprinted in O'Brien's Best Short Stories of 1917, and "Master of Fallen Years" which appeared in The Smart Set for August, 1921. Another excellent yarn published in the same magazine is "The Dance-Hall at Unigenitus." Dodd, Mead, and Company's collection, "The Grim Thirteen," contains one of O'Sullivan's best short stories.

Then there is the vastly interesting matter of O'Sullivan's plays, never mentioned in print in this country so far as I can discover. "The Hartley Family" was produced at the Court Theater; "The Lighthouse" was tentatively accepted by H. B. Irving, son of Henry Irving, for production and was being put through rehearsal when Irving died. "The Waiter" is another of O'Sullivan's plays, and there is also "Comtes d'Amerique," produced in France in 1924. So far as I know none of these plays have been printed in book form. I have not read any of them save "The Lighthouse," which I have

read in manuscript. It is a charmingly written three act play. novelly designed, dramatic, and with some excellent phrasing. The opening scene, one of the most effective in the play, is set in the saloon of an ocean sailing steamer, and the curtain rises just as the ship has gotten under way. Had the author of "Outward Bound," perchance, seen a copy of "The Lighthouse"? There were several copies in circulation in London at the time it was to have been produced. Perhaps it was seen in rehearsal? Indeed, one copy of the play strayed into the hands of one of those aggressively artistic American women who later took it to America, submitted it under her own name. without any mention of O'Sullivan, to the Drama League of America, at Washington, D. C., where it was awarded first prize. Later the same lady had the play cast, and it was actually announced for production in the Hollywood Playhouse Theater for February 8, 9, and 10 of 1928, when of a sudden its production was cancelled. Did the dear lady become conscience stricken at the last moment? But there is no answer. The play one day will be printed; it deserves to be produced.

Of O'Sullivan's miscellaneous work, mention might be made of his translation of Louis Bertrand's St. Augustin, published in 1914 by Constable and Company, London, with a slight introduction by O'Sullivan. It is important in considering O'Sullivan's work, for he quotes from St. Augustin occasionally, and seems to have read with considerable inter-

est most of the material available about the saint.

O'Sullivan has done quite a number of very interesting critical articles, foremost of which is his able essay on H. L. Mencken, "The American Critic," first published in the London New Witness and later reprinted in the brochure H. L. Mencken, published by Knopf in 1920. O'Sullivan's article remains, I believe, one of the soundest ever written about Mencken. He says, for example, "Mencken is genuinely American,—he does not derive from England or from anywhere else but the U. S. A. He is as peculiarly American as a pumpkin-pie or a Riker-Hegeman drug-store." His emphasis upon the essential Americanism of Mencken was shrewd

and sound and has been copied without notation, credit, quotation marks, or footnote in about four-fifths of the literature since published devoted to Mencken.

Some years ago O'Sullivan wrote a series of articles for the Mercure de France, introducing for the first time many of our current literary celebrities to that nation. Also, while he was teaching at Rennes, he made a collection of American short stories which were translated into French by Eva Paul-Margarite, and for which he wrote an introduction. For these meritorious services to the cause of American letters there is not one word of appreciation in the press of this mighty and puissant nation, a nation bubbling over with critics, novelists, magazines devoted to literary comment, quarterterly reviews, iitney publicists, and free lance Spingarns.

And thus it is that the long and very distinguished literary career of a genuine man of letters, in the original and proper sense of the term, not using it as a phrase indicative of a sophomore fresh from the University of Chicago writing first novels and book reviews for the Zenith Gazette, has been passed unnoticed by the land of his birth. We have innumerable literary guilds, art factories, and huge mail-order distributing agencies for culture, and yet despite all this publishing activity conducted by the master minds of the book world, the curious still have to spend hours on end pouring over old book stacks in order to locate a chance copy of The Good Girl overlooked by the Comstocks in 1914. Is this not symbolic of our culture? This blind, democratic, insistence upon more books, more new books hot from the press, while the occasional masterpiece lies unnoticed in the discard.

Not that this really matters, for it doesn't. Mr. O'Sullivan, I imagine, prefers to have the score stand as it does at present. He is too shrewd to wish it otherwise. He likes to evoke these haunting harmonies of his on a modest "second fiddle," and then stand quietly aside while time carries their ironic message into the soul of the curious, not to be easily forgotten.

GREEK AND ROMAN PETS

ARTHUR M. GATES

NE of the most widespread characteristics of the human race is the desire for companionship. In man's relations with a Supreme Being this is known as adoration or worship: among his equals it appears in the form of love, affection, or friendship. When bestowed upon a creature of a lower order. it may be called fondness or liking. While the latter relationship is quite common in our day, according to Cougny and Saglio it occurred even more frequently among the ancients. Several factors seem to have contributed to this state of affairs. In the first place, as polytheism was essentially the cult of nature, it often happened that man had more regard for a beast, a plant, or a spring than for his fellow man. Belief in the transmigration of souls helped to inspire respect and affection for the lower animals, while by virtue of their connection with sacrifices, auguries, and other religious ceremonies, these animals occupied a position in the life of the ancients which it is impossible for them to command in our day. Almost every animal was sacred to some divinity; jugglers and mountebanks in particular maintained fierce animals which had been tamed.

Throughout the civilized world to-day probably the two most popular domesticated animals are the dog and the horse. Next to these in popularity, though decidedly less important, should perhaps be placed the cat. According to Hehn, the dog is the earliest animal known and the first of all beasts to associate with man, yet it has not been accorded equal honor among all nations. As Baxendale and Mitchell point out, "In the Old and New Testaments the dog is spoken of almost with abhorrence; it ranked amongst the unclean beasts," the reason being, apparently, that it was connected with idolatry, particularly in Egypt. Greece and Rome seem to have adopted a position between these two extremes. In these countries, as in the civilized world in general to-day, dogs served three main purposes. They were used in hunting, as guardians, or as

This order perhaps represents chronological development. At all events, Greek tradition declares that Artemis, or, according to another version of the tale, Minos, gave Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, a dog "from which no wild beast could escape," to quote the statement of Hyginus. Laelaps, (λαϊλαψ, hurricane) for so we are told the dog was called, later figured in the reconciliation of Procris and her husband Cephalus, proving thereby not sagacity but intrinsic worth. It was from Laelaps, according to tradition, that Molossian and Spartan hounds were descended. Classical references to the former are numerous. Undoubtedly the best known of these passages is Horace's Satires II. 6, which contains the familiar tale of the city mouse and the country mouse. Here, strange as it may seem, Molossian hounds, which were ordinarily used to hunt wolves and other large animals, are made to frighten with their loud baying such tiny creatures as mice. Incidentally, too, the passage serves to prove that representatives of this breed sometimes served as watchdogs.

Gratius refers to British dogs. The mastiff, canis Anglicus. as its name implies, came from England. The Romans not only imported it, but carefully propagated the species for use in the venationes of the amphitheatre. If such conduct seems but natural on the part of the proverbially hard-hearted Roman, a similar lack of the finer and nobler sentiments is seen on the Greek side in a tale recounted by Plutarch, Alcibiades IX. According to this writer, Alcibiades had a remarkably fine dog, for which he paid seventy minas (more than \$1,200). One of the marks of beauty of the dog was its wonderful tail. This in sheer wantonness Alcibiades cut off; and, when he was deservedly rebuked for his cruel act, he endeavored to defend himself by saying that he did it in order that the Athenians might blame him for this deed rather than for some of his more serious misdemeanors. On the other hand, Plutarch, Alexander LXI., is authority for the statement that Alexander the Great once had a dog which he reared and to which he became so much attached that upon its death he named a city Peritas in its honor. The dog, it is said, received this name from the Macedonian month Peritas, in which it was born.

The writer cannot vouch for the accuracy of the following narrative, but it is told on apparently good authority. A gentleman residing in one of the Southern states, where hunting is not yet an abandoned pastime, within recent years was in possession of several hunting dogs. In process of time the owner had the misfortune to lose his mind. Never thereafter did these dogs recognize their former master. Gifted as they no doubt were with a natural keenness of scent developed to an unusual degree by an extended period of training, they nevertheless missed the gleam of intelligence in the eye, the revelation of that inner personality, with which they were familiar. This tale suggests by way of contrast Homer's familiar story concerning the recognition of Ulysses by his dog, when the master returned to his native Ithaca in the guise

of a beggar.

The island of Melita (Malta), the home of a well-known bred of cats in a later day, in earlier times produced lap-dogs (catuli). The Theban general Epaminondas is said to have owned one of these dogs. Although the cat was domesticated by the Egyptians as early as the thirteenth century, B.C., it does not seem to have appeared among the Greeks and Romans as a house animal until some time after the establishment of the Roman Empire. Aelian, writing perhaps at the close of the second century, A.D., mentions the cat as responding to the kind of treatment accorded to it. Certain epigrams preserved in Greek anthologies rejoice over the death of cats slain for having killed pet birds, or strangled by the beaks of their victims, which became lodged in their throats. While cats figure in Greek vase paintings, they were comparatively rare and costly both in Greece and at Rome even as late as the Middle Ages. In place of these animals, the Greeks and Romans in early times used the weasel or marten. Mayor suggests that the cat may have been introduced into Rome to combat the rat, which possibly came with the Huns.

Next to the dog, of all the lower orders of animals the horse was held in highest esteem by the Greeks and Romans. Homer, just after the completion of his famous catalogue of men and ships, declares that the mares of Eumelus, who was grandson of Pheres, were much the best of the horses arraved on the Greek side in the Trojan War. At Rome, however, mares seem to have been seldom used as race horses, if one may judge from the names preserved in inscriptions. Aethon appears to have been a popular name for a horse in antiquity. Homer's Iliad VIII. 185 mentions it as the name of one of Hector's horses. Ovid's Metamorphoses II. 153 applies the name to one of the horses of the sun. Vergil's Aeneid XI. 89-90 represents Aethon, the war horse of the youthful Pallas, as shedding tears at the death of his master. The portrayal of a horse expressing its grief in this manner goes back to Homer. Suetonius refers to horses as having wept in anticipation of Caesar's death. The significance of the word Aethon is in dispute: Conington thinks it refers to color, basing his conclusion on Homer's Iliad II. 839, while Liddell and Scott suggest this as one of three possible explanations with the remark "like Latin fulvus, rufus." They also suggest that the word may apply to the disposition, "fiery," or to the appearance of the eyes.

Deimos (Fear) and Phobos (Flight) appear in Homer's Iliad IV. 119 as names of the horses of Ares. The names of the horses of Achilles on the other hand, as given in Homer's Iliad XVI. 149, Xanthos (Bay or Chestnut) and Balios (Dapple or Pie-ball), clearly refer to color. Other Greek names of horses are Cyllaros, which perhaps means Swift, Phlogeos (Flaming, Burning, Red), Harpagos (Snatcher), and Podar-

gos (Swiftfoot or Whitefoot).

Perhaps the horse of antiquity best known in modern times is Bucephalas, the favorite of his master Alexander the Great. Plutarch tells us that this horse reached the age of thirty years, and so keenly did Alexander feel his loss that he named the city in India where he died Bucephalia in his honor. The origin of the name Bucephalas, Ox-headed,

has been reasonably accounted for on the ground that the bearer was branded with the device of the head of an ox. Arrian V. 19, 5 refers to this origin of the name, but mentions another explanation sometimes given, namely, that while Bucephalas was black, he had a white mark upon his head which bore a striking resemblance to the head of an ox. Liddell and Scott characterize Boundahos as an "epithet of certain Thessalian horses." It is known that the old Greek character Koppa (?) was employed in branding horses. According to the authorities just cited, "It is said to have signified the Corinthian breed—, which was mythically carried back to Pegasus." Koppa is used "as the first letter of Kópurðos in old inscriptions—and represents this city on coins of Corinth, and its colonies, especially Syracuse and Croton."

Plutarch relates the familiar tale of the purchase of Bucephalas. When his early owner, Philonicus of Thessaly, offered him to Philip of Macedon for thirteen talents (between \$15,000 and \$16,000), the offer was declined, since the horse appeared intractable on being put to the test. Alexander, however, by repeated exclamations of disappointment that such a fine horse was being lost through failure to use the proper method in handling him, at last prevailed upon his father to permit him to attempt to ride him, a feat which no one thus far had succeeded in accomplishing. Alexander. by the simple device of turning the head of the horse towards the sun, removed from his sight the cause of his fright, which was nothing more terrible than his own shadow. After allowing the horse a brief period in which to become calm and when he "had stroked him with his hand," Alexander sprang to his back and by superb horsemanship soon proved himself master of the situation.

One of the most striking references to the horse in classical literature is found in Vergil's Georgics III. 182-6, where the writer enumerates as sights and sounds to which the young war horse or race horse must become accustomed, the weapons of warriors, the blare of cavalry trumpets, the creaking wheel

of the chariot in motion, the rattling of bits in the stable, the master's soothing words of praise, and the *sound* of a pat upon the neck.

For race horses, as for many other luxuries or necessities, Rome did not hesitate to draw on a wide area. Spain, Sicily, Mauretania, Northern Greece, and, at a later period, Cappadocia furnished most of the race horses mentioned frequently in Latin literature. Since the Roman race horse was usually not broken until the age of three nor allowed to run until five, it happened repeatedly that the same horse won a surprisingly large number of races. A horse which finished first in one hundred races was called *centenarius*. Diocles tells of a horse named Tuscus that won 429 races, and he himself owned a *ducenarius*. The modern Italian seems to have inherited from his ancient ancestors, the Romans, the reprehensible practice of branding his horse on the flank. Sometimes the initial, at other times the badge of the owner, constituted the device so employed.

The mule, closely akin to the horse, is said to have been bred first in Mysia and Paphlagonia. Pindar's odes abound in references to victories gained in chariot races either between horses or mules. According to Pausanias V. 9, 1, the first mule-chariot race took place in 500 B.C. The practice was abolished by public proclamation in 444 B.C. The mule was used by both Greeks and Romans, particularly the latter. as a draft animal and pack carrier, but sometimes the mule drew the conveyance in which his master rode. As might be expected, extravagance either in purchase price or in equipment was not unknown. Pliny N. H. XXXIII. 11 (49), 140 is authority for the statement that Poppaea, the wife of Nero. had her favorite mules shod with gold, while Martial III. 62 complains that the price of a mule exceeds that of a house in the city. Martial VIII. 61 shows that if a person was too poor to own carriage-mules, it was possible to secure them for hire. In Horace's Satires I. 5, 13, a mule is used to furnish the motor power for the boat on the Pomptine Marshes,

a practice strikingly similar to the use of mules on the canal townath today.

Of all the four-footed animals of ancient and modern times perhaps none lends itself more readily to the play of fancy and enkindles more spontaneous admiration than the deer. As Cougny and Saglio point out, this creature possesses two advantages over several of the other large, wild quadrupeds, namely, a form pleasing to the eye, and a gentle disposition. It is not surprising, therefore, to find deer serving as pets in antiquity. Not only were they taught to respond to the call of their master, but they were permitted to eat at his table, were allowed free access to the house, became accustomed to being petted, and were decorated with ornaments such as garlands of flowers, chains set with precious stones, or necklaces of gold from which sometimes hung an amulet as a protection against the wild boar. Bullas of silver were fastened to their foreheads with slender straps. and brass ornaments in the form of berries or pearls were suspended from their ears. They became accustomed to being bathed, to having their hair combed and their horns gilded. Sometimes they were attached to cars, or used as saddleanimals with white bridles, reins of purple, and girths set with glass buttons.

Plutarch recounts the tale of Sertorius and his fawn. The latter, which we are told was entirely white, was discovered by a native and presented to Sertorius during his campaign in Spain. After Sertorius had made the animal so tame that it would accompany him on his walks, he endeavored to increase his influence over the Spaniards by declaring that the fawn was a gift from Diana and that it revealed many secrets to him.

In Virgil's Aeneid VII. 438 ff. the breaking out of hostilities in Italy between the Trojans and the Latins is attributed to the fact that Ascanius wounded a pet stag which had been reared by Tyrrheus, keeper of the royal herd, and his children. The stag was so gentle that Silvia, daughter of Tyrrheus, was accustomed to fondle and care for it with her

own hands. An even more touching incident, which is said to have occurred on the island of Cos, one of the Cyclades, is related in Ovid's Metamorphoses X. 121 ff. Cyparissus, a youth beloved by Apollo, accidentally killed a large, tame stag, of which he was personally very fond. In remorse he resolved to attempt death for himself also. In poetic fashion Ovid concludes his tale with the alleged transformation of Cyparissus into a cypress, the companion of mourners and the dead.

A certain Greek vase painting represents a child astride a doe. Antelopes, gazelles, and other animals of the same fam-

ily often figure in Roman festivals.

The largest animal employed by the Greeks and Romans was, of course, the elephant. Aristotle Hist. An. IX. 46 (37), and Aelian Nat. An. XI. 11 declare that of all wild animals it is the most readily domesticated. Varro L. L. VII. 325 § 39 Mull, accounts for the application of the expression Luca bos. Lucanian cow, to the elephant on the ground that "the Romans first saw this animal in Lucania in the army of Pyrrhus." Curius Dentatus used them in the celebration of his triumph. while Metellus at the time of the First Punic War brought more than one hundred of them to Rome, where they perished in combats of the circus. They are represented on coins, either alone or attached to a car. Elephants also figure in games, where they perform various marvelous feats, such as bending the knee, presenting crowns, throwing flowers, walking a tight rope, hurling a missile, and executing the Pyrrhic dance. On the occasion of his first triumph Pompey intended to enter Rome in a chariot drawn by four elephants, but abandoned the project when he found the gates of the city too narrow.

The camel was used by the Greeks and Romans, particularly in war. Perhaps its ungainly appearance contributed

to its lack of popularity.

The giraffe was seen for the first time in Rome in connection with the games with which Caesar celebrated his triumph in the year 46 B.C. It appeared frequently after that date but always as a rare and curious animal. A wall painting of a columbarium shows a giraffe led by a long halter

and wearing a small bell on its neck, ordinarily a sign of domesticity.

The ostrich was used to draw cars in Rome in addition to appearing in the *venationes* in the circus. A vase painting indicates that at least as early as the fourth century B.C. Greeks had seen ostriches used as mounts for members of the cavalry.

The lion, popularly known as "the king of beasts" for his strength and ferocity, seems ill adapted to domestication and still less likely to serve as a pet. We are told that the Carthaginian Hanno first dared to handle a lion and tamed it. Instead of being considered divine, as he had hoped, he was banished by his fellow-citizens. In certain temples lions were to be found tame enough to receive the caresses of those who entered. According to Seneca the Elder bears, lions, and tigers, wearing collars and gilded manes, roamed about the houses of their masters, seeking to be petted. As might be expected, such liberties were conducive to the inconvenience. if not to the actual danger, of pedestrians, and an edict of the aediles forbade the presence of a dog, a boar, a wild boar, a panther, a bear, a leopard, or a lion without leash in a place where people ordinarily passed. Mark Antony, after the battle of Pharsalus, first exhibited the spectacle in Rome of lions yoked and attached to a car. Later he walked by the team with the comedian Cytheris. Statius Silvae II. 5 celebrates in song the death of Domitian's pet lion. Caracalla had several tame lions, among the number one called Acinaces, Dagger. Heliogabulus, calling himself now Magna Mater and again Bacchus, is said to have ridden in a chariot drawn sometimes by lions, sometimes by tigers. We are also told that he had lions and leopards appear at his table.

In India lions were used in the chase, a practice which was followed elsewhere. Luxorius, Anth. Lat. (Burm.) VI. Luxorius 69, indicates that leopards and dogs were used at the same time. Panthers and tigers were also tamed. A certain vase painting depicts a panther and a cock, both of which are evidently intended as gifts from one of the two

persons represented in the scene to the other. Augustus is said to have been the first to exhibit a tame tiger to the Romans.

Naturally the methods employed in rendering wild animals docile varied somewhat with the nature of the beast. Fear, hunger, and fatigue all seem to have played their part. A likeness of a bear has been preserved in which the trainer holds a whip in one hand and bait in the other. Valentinian I. had two favorite bears, one of which was called Mica Aurea, Gold Speck, and the other Innocentia, Harmlessness.

Bulls were tamed sufficiently to receive children, dance, raise themselves on their feet from behind while supporting a performer on their head, be carried on a litter, or remain motionless as they were conveyed in a chariot at a gallop.

According to Petronius 47, pigs were sometimes trained to engage in acrobatic performances. The Testamentum Porcelli, (The Last Will and Testament of a Pig), is an amusing composition, a part of the humor of which consists of its bold use of hyperbole.

Both sheep and goats were sometimes attached to the wagons of children. At other times he-goats were ridden by them.

Archaeology and literature prove the possession of monkeys as pets among both Greeks and Romans. Small varieties of these animals were often carried in the fold of their master's robe. They were taught to dance, to play on the flute or other musical instrument, to mount a horse and use bridle and whip, to avoid shafts hurled at them, and to take part in different games imitating men. For example, Juvenal V. 153-5, seems to refer to a monkey taught to hurl spears from the back of a goat, which it rides for the amusement of spectators. The scene is the earthen wall of Servius Tullius, a favorite strolling place for the inhabitants of Rome. Schreiber, Plate LXXII., Figure 6, reproduces a Pompeian wall painting, which shows a boy with a pet monkey dressed in a coat. The boy appears to be endeavoring to force the monkey to perform, Cougny and Saglio say, to dance.

In the fourth century B.C. apes were in great favor in Greece, whence the craze later passed to Italy. In spite of their unprepossessing appearance, monkeys continued to be very popular in the Roman Empire. They were given pet names and women lavished vast sums of money upon the costumes of their favorite ares.

Eventually apes became associated with clowns, buffoons, and charlatans. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them figuring in various caricatures. With the Greeks the ape was symbolical of gross wickedness, hypocrisy, and base flattery. A Pompeian wall painting presents in the guise of three dog-headed apes a caricature of Aeneas supporting his father Anchises and followed by his youthful son Ascanius. Small Greek vases and Roman lamps seem to have lent them-

selves readily to the use of monkeys in caricature.

Other four-footed animals mentioned as pets in classical literature include not only the prototype of Mary's "little lamb," agnellus (Plaut, Asin, 667), but also the kid, haedillus (l.c.), and the calf, vitellus (l.c.). The diminutives here seem to be hypocoristic. Ouite naturally the puppy, catellus (Plaut. Asin, 693: Cas. 138), came in for its share of attention. The hare was sacred to Venus and often served as a love gift. A play on words, lepus (hare), lepos (charm), perhaps gave rise to the popular belief that after eating the flesh of hare one possessed charm for nine or according to others for seven days. With this notion may be compared the modern lover's charm of counting nine stars for nine nights in succession. The ancients also believed that a diet of hare's flesh was conducive to sleep at night, a boon to the Romans who were proverbially light sleepers.

One of the strangest pets, at least from the modern point of view, found either in Greece or at Rome was the snake. The custom of taming snakes evidently arose early, for we are told that Aiax had a serpent five cubits long, that followed him like a dog and ate with him. In Thrace and in Macedonia particularly, inconceivable as it may appear, women permitted snakes to draw nourishment from their breasts.

handled them, and allowed them to sleep with their children. In Greece proper at this time such conduct was engaged in, it is true, but only by those who were regarded as jugglers.

The snake was introduced at Rome from Epidaurus in 365 B.C., during an epidemic, as it was regarded as a symbol of Aesculapius. It was always found in sanctuaries of the Bona Dea. Later it was received into private houses at Rome. where it multiplied to such an extent that it became a menace, from which the inhabitants were saved only by the very numerous fires at Rome. These house snakes followed their masters everywhere, even appearing at the table, where they crawled among the cups and glided into the bosoms of the banqueters without inflicting any injury. As in Greece, they were handled freely and were allowed to play with the children. The emperor Tiberius had one of these pets, which he fed from his hand. Martial VII. 87 suggests the chameleon of Mi Lady of a generation ago. Roman women in Martial's time entwined tame snakes around their necks and allowed them to rest on their bosoms as necklaces, in order to refresh themselves by contact with their cold blood.

A less shocking, if no more sanitary rôle, was played by mice in ancient Rome. Children caught them in traps and fastened them to little cars. Mice so treated sometimes became tame. The parallelism with modern white mice is too obvious for comment. Children also caught lizards and amused themselves by attaching a string to them. Juvenal III. 231 indicates that lizards in Rome must have been as common as our friendly garden toad. Perhaps turtles were used in a similar fashion, for they appear, together with such domesticated animals as cats, ducks, and other birds, upon the walls of a certain Etruscan sepulchral chamber, while a vase painting represents a boy, who is probably an altar servant, teasing a Maltese dog by holding before it a suspended turtle.

Martial VII. 87 refers to the fondness of a certain Marius for an ichneumon or a mongoose.

Feathered creatures seem to have been very popular as

pets among the Greeks and Romans, if one may judge from the list appearing in the works of Greek and Roman writers. Strange to say, the goose seems to have occupied a prominent place in the life of both Greeks and Romans. Von Mack remarks "Geese were familiar animals with the Greeks. Children played with them as they now play with cats. Even the geese of Penelope, Hom. Od. XIX. 536, seem to be kept more for the pleasure of Penelope than for any other purpose."

In art the familiar group of the boy and the goose, a representative of Greek genre sculpture, goes back eventually to Boethus for its motif. Concerning this piece of work Perry says, "It is intended, of course, as a parody on the struggle between Hercules and the Nemean Lion. . . . The group, which is found in several copies, probably served as a fountain, the water issuing from the beak of the goose." The Game of the Goose, which was much played in France at the close of the Middle Ages, is said to have originated with the Greeks.

Livy V. 47 contains the well known tale of the preservation of Rome from the attack of the Gauls by the cackling and the flapping of the wings of the geese, which as they were sacred to Juno, had not been eaten by the besieged Romans, even though they were in dire need of food.

Among the common domesticated birds of to-day the ancient Greeks and Romans kept as pets chickens, cocks, ducks, swans, and peacocks. The latter were regarded as sacred to Juno: cf. Ov. Am. II. 6, 55; Juv. III. 7, 32. The swan was considered sacred to Apollo and symbolized elevated love. To this list should be added doves, which served as an example of conjugal fidelity; cf. Propertius II. 15, 27-8. It is not difficult to account for the origin of this symbolism, as the practice attributed to the dove of mating with only one member of its species was well known.

Ovid Amores II. 6 in particular and Statius Silvae II. 4 have made the parrot famous for all time. Ovid's composition is clearly a reflection of the two charming poems on Lesbia's pet sparrow, Catullus II, and III. The sparrow seems a par-

ticularly appropriate subject for treatment by Catullus, for Sappho tells us that it was sacred to Aphrodite. Consequently it was a popular pet of the Roman ladies. The quail, on the other hand, as it was frequently used instead of the cock as a fighting bird, was prized by boys. Plutarch relates an incident in the life of Alcibiades in which he states that the latter on one occasion became so much engrossed in the affairs of his fellow Athenians that he forgot a quail, which he was carrying concealed in his clothing. The bird, becoming frightened by the tumult, made good its escape and was only recaptured with considerable effort. The partridge was called

the pet of Diana.

Other birds used as pets by the Greeks and Romans were the blackbird, jackdaw, magpie, and raven. Aristophanes Birds 707 adds the porphyry rail, Pliny N. H. X. 42, 59, 118 the thrush. The latter passage shows that both the magnie and the thrush were sometimes taught to talk. Martial XIV. LXXVI. mentions the magpie alone. Petronius 28 tells of a golden cage which hung at the entrance of Trimalchio's house containing a magpie that had been taught to greet visitors with a variety of salutations. Common among these were "Salve" and "Xaioe." Iahn interprets Persius Prol. 8 as a reference to the skill of the parrot in the use of this Greek greeting, as contrasted with the lack of proficiency in the use of Latin on the part of the magpie. The latter, Gildersleeve adds, "is an Italian, and not so deft. . . . Greek was the language of small talk, love talk, parrot-talk." However, Gildersleeve and Conington mention a popular interpretation of the passage, which associates the magpie's difficulty with human speech rather than with the Latin language specifically. In fact Conington prefers this view. Other salutations taught to birds were "Εδ πραττε," "Zeùs ιλεως" and "Caesar ave." The latter occurs in Martial XIV. LXXIII. as the greeting of a parrot.

Storks, cranes, and herons as well as certain other longlegged birds were permitted to enter even the interior of houses. Certain works of art indicate that representatives of

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the family of cranes were at times employed in moving mechanical devices. Cranes were spirited fighters and were sometimes pitted against one another like cocks or quail. They were also made to turn in circles and execute grotesque movements for the amusement of spectators. In the dance called "the crane" human beings are said to have imitated this bird.

The Greek or Roman youth of two thousand years ago probably had on the whole a better opportunity than is available to the average youth of today to know animal life at first hand, but this was not because in that far off time more animals existed or were known, but because of the exceedingly close relationship between man and many of the lower animals. The prevalence of animals as companions or servants of the Greeks and Romans seems not to have contributed appreciably to a lack of participation in sports. As a matter of fact, their out-of-door life appears to have been a more compelling factor in determining their relation to athletics in general than their intimate association with various animals representing orders lower than man.

A LESSON IN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

EARL E. MUNTZ

THE PRESENT industrial depression will no doubt prove an effective stimulus for innumerable social and economic reforms. Many of these will actually be expedient adjustments and a great many, perhaps the majority, will turn out to be maladjustments which society will have difficulty in throwing aside. True enough, the aims and purposes of reformers are generally altruistic; they mean well and hope to benefit society, but, unfortunately, too little attention is given to consequences. Programs are easy to map out—because they always work before being put in practice. Not a few of the programs for the cure of the mitigation of unemployment fall in this category. Something must be done! Offhand, the plea for unemployment insurance strikes a responsive chord. But just what does the average man have in mind when this alluring subject is presented to him? Does he think of the purchase through the regular sacrifice of a portion of his weekly wages of a definite amount of relief at some time in the future when he may be out of work? Is the idea of deferring part of his income to a future date uppermost in his mind, or does he not rather vaguely think of insurance as a guarantee on the part of the government that somehow an existence wage will always be forthcoming?

If we are to have unemployment insurance there is no doubt but that a scientific and practical system can be devised. There are, however, two dangers which must be faced. First, if we adopt a real insurance plan there is the danger of abandoning the insurance principle under stress of acute unemployment; and, secondly, growing out of the first danger, there is the likelihood of developing a governmental system of outdoor poor relief under the guise of unemployment insurance. These difficulties can best be portrayed by an examination of the evolution of the British Unemployment

Insurance Scheme. Valuable lessons are to be drawn therefrom.

The British Unemployment Insurance Act became operative on July 15, 1912. As originally set forth the law applied to but seven groups of trades embracing about one-sixth of the working class population. A state unemployment insurance fund was established on the basis of the threefold contributions of employers (2½d), employees (2½d), and the national government (12/3d). The mechanism for collecting the contributions was simple. Each insured worker was provided with an insurance stamp book which he deposited with his employer. Insurance stamps were sold to employers through the post office. For each week of employment the employer attached to the employee's book stamps representing the equivalent of the joint weekly contribution. ployee's contribution was deducted from his wages. Upon the termination of employment the insurance stamp book was returned to the employee. He thereupon deposited his unemployment insurance book with the nearest public labor exchange, which act automatically registered him as unemployed and seeking work (In passing, it might be added that Great Britain has the most efficient and extensive system of free public labor exchanges in the world. Thus it was a simple matter to give the detailed administration of the unemployment insurance scheme to this nation wide net work of employment agencies). Once registered, every effort was made to place the worker in a new job. If at the expiration of one week the workman was still unemployed, he became eligible to benefits at the rate of 7s per week for a man and 6s per week for a woman. Benefits, however, were limited to a maximum of fifteen weeks in a year, with the further restriction that no one should get more than one week of benefit for every five contributions to the unemployment insurance fund. No benefits were payable if the unemployment resulted from a trade dispute, if the worker had lost his job through misconduct or had left it voluntarily without just cause; benefits did not start until the expiration of six weeks. The law also provided that any insured person over sixty years of age who had been covered for a period of at least ten years and who had paid in five hundred contributions was entitled to a refund of his total payments with interest at 2½ per cent minus the total benefits he had received. This did not forfeit his claim to future benefits. Other clauses gave a refund of part of the employer's contribution for men continuously employed during the insurance year, and allowed remission of contributions where part-time was being worked systematically to avoid unemployment. Where voluntary associations or trade unions had already undertaken insurance, the State undertook to reimburse them to the extent of one-sixth of the unemployment benefits paid by them to their members from their own resources. This was in effect a subvention or a gift added to the regular benefits paid by the State under the law. Obviously it was unfair to non-unionists and to members of other unions which had no independent unemployment benefit plan.

plan.

The original law was a strictly contributory system, and had been carefully drawn up. But the close of the World War introduced new labor problems and the unemployment insurance law became the target for parliamentary tampering.

insurance law became the target for parliamentary tampering. In 1916 munitions workers were added to the insurance scheme. Shortly after the Armistice in November, 1918, provision was made for out-of-work donations from the government to ex-service men and to civilian workers. The weekly rate of donation for both classes was 29s for a man, 25s for a woman, 6s for the first child and 3s for each additional child. These rates were subsequently lowered. "Out-of-work donation policies" were issued to applicants at the public labor exchanges and the donation was paid subject to about the same conditions as unemployment benefits. Inasmuch as this was a temporary expedient civilian donations lasted for but one year, the maximum number of weeks payable to any unemployed donee being twenty-six. Ex-service men could claim donation for thirty-nine weeks, but subse-

quent extensions permitted an additional fifty weeks of ben-

efits until March, 1921. Since the donation scheme was administered through the labor exchanges in the same manner as unemployment insurance, it was easy for the public to confuse it with insurance proper. This no doubt served as an entering wedge for the breakdown of the strictly contributory principle that benefits be proportional to contributions in the one-to-five ratio.

In 1920 the insurance act was extended to include practically the entire working population. The excepted classes were agricultural laborers, persons in domestic service, and non-manual workers with an annual income in excess of £250. In all important details the act of 1920 followed that of 1911 except that the contributions and benefits were increased reflecting the changed value of money. The waiting period was reduced from six days to three, and six weeks of contributions were required for every week of benefit. Refunds to employers as well as subsidies to trade unions were dropped, but trade unions might distribute state benefits to their members if they had a benefit system of their own. The modification of the unemployment insurance law was followed almost immediately by one of the worst depressions recorded in British history. Without having had an opportunity to build up sufficient reserves for standard benefits the insurance fund was saddled with the additional burden of providing "extended benefit" for those who had exhausted their rights to regular compensation. In November, 1921, allowances of 5s for each dependent adult and 1s for each child were added to the benefits, and weekly contributions were again raised. Finally in 1924 the Labour Government made extended benefit a right like standard benefit which could be drawn This law also abolished the refund formerly indefinitely. granted to workers at the age of sixty who had not drawn benefits equal to their contributions.

As a result of the Blanesburgh Report in 1927 legislation was enacted abolishing extended benefit which was not based upon contributions, but the standard benefit was stretched so as to cover practically the same range as had been included

under extended benefit. This law introduced an easy test of thirty weekly contributions for the preceding two years as a prerequisite for drawing benefits. The new contribution test, however, has never operated, having been suspended until April, 1929, by a "transitional" provision requiring but eight contributions in two years or thirty at any time. On the approach of April, 1929, the transitional provisions continuing the practice of contributory and free benefits were extended for another year, and the Act of 1930 grants a further extension until April, 1932. This act attempted to relieve the insurance fund of caring for those who were ineligible to receive standard benefits by throwing the cost of the transitional

relief directly upon the Exchequer.

Present status of British unemployment insurance-As the law exists today practically all persons between sixteen and sixty-five employed under a contract of service in Great Britain and Northern Ireland are insured against unemployment. The excepted classes are those employed in agriculture or domestic service, civil servants, police, railway employees, and persons earning more than £250 a year on non-manual work: clerks and similar employees up to that salary are included. The Minister of Labour is authorized to reduce the lower limit for entry to insurance to the age when compulsory elementary education ceases when that age shall have been raised to fifteen or more. Administrative details are the same as under the original law, involving the issue of an employment book to the worker, the affixing of stamps thereon by the employer representing joint contributions, and the deposit of the book with the nearest public labor exchange during the owner's period of unemployment. The weekly contribu-

¹ The Act of 1927 did not make any financial provision for the "transitional benefit," thus necessitating heavy loans from the Exchequer to the unemployment insurance fund to pay such benefits. After 1930 the transitional benefit was charged to the Exchequer, but nevertheless permission had to be given to raise the borrowing power of the fund to £50,000,000 in the same year. By Feb. 11, 1931, the debt had increased to £65,980,000 with no part of the increase attributable to the payment of transitional benefit after April 1, 1930, and within the next few weeks the increased borrowing power of £70,000,000 had been exhausted (Notes on Unemployment and National Health Insurance, compiled by the British Free Library of Public Information, New York City).

tions of the employer, employee, and the government are as follows:

| For | Contribution of employer | | Contribution of employee | | Contribution of government |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Men, aged 21-65 | . 8 | d | 7 | d | 71/2 d |
| Women, aged 21-65 | . 7 | d | 6 | d | 6½ d |
| Young men 18-20 | . 7 | d | 6 | d | 6½ d |
| Young women 18-20 | . 6 | d | 5 | d | 5½ d |
| Boys | . 4 | d . | 31/2 | d | 33/4 d |
| Girls | . 31/ | á d | . 3 | d | 31/4 d |

Unemployment benefit for an adult man is 17s a week with 9s for his wife or other adult dependents and 2s for each dependent child. Lower rates of benefit prevail for the other classes of insured. A claimant who has refused without good cause suitable employment offered him by a public labor exchange is disqualified for benefit. Employment is not deemed suitable, however, if the vacancy is a result of a trade dispute, or is offered at a rate of wage lower or on less favorable conditions than the worker might reasonably have expected to obtain in his own community and in his own trade; similarly, if the job is in another district and is offered to him on terms below those prevailing in that area.

The weaknesses of the British unemployment insurance scheme as it now exists are readily apparent. (1) There is no relationship between the contributions and receipts of particular industries, the more prosperous industries and their employees literally supporting the less efficient and decadent industries and their labor forces. (2) The contractual idea. of benefit has been broken down by the introduction of the donation and extended benefit, so that the compulsory contribution is in fact a tax on employment. (3) Unemployment insurance has become little more than a national system of outdoor poor relief for the able-bodied unemployed. The normally efficient worker invariably obtains enough employment during the year to entitle him to regular benefits. He is paying the full insurance cost for his own risk of unemployment plus an additional sum for others who draw benefits but do not contribute. In this category are many thousands of casual laborers and near unemployables who are the proper subjects for public charity, which, taken from tax funds, represents a more equitable levy upon the population at large. Any system of unemployment insurance which transfers this obligation to two special classes, employers and employed workers, is indefensible.

Britain's unfortunate experiences with unemployment insurance should not deter the development of this desirable form of social insurance on sound principles in our American commonwealths. But let us profit, by all means, from Britain's mistakes.

PRESIDENT HOOVER AND THE SUPREME COURT

ROBERT S. RANKIN

RARELY, if ever, has a president entered upon his term of office under more auspicious circumstances than our own President Hoover. When Mr. Coolidge turned over to him the reins of government, the Republican party had just swept into power by splendid majorities, the country was prosperous, and it was only natural that four years of growth and prosperity were expected under his leadership. Unfortunately both for President Hoover and the United States, he has had one trial after another and even the New York Times is forced to call the present régime "an unfortunate administration."

While neither as sensational as the stock market crash nor as susceptible of public reaction as farm relief and other proposed remedies for present economic conditions, President Hoover's appointments to the Supreme Court have received their due share of public interest. Already the president has filled two vacancies on the Supreme Court bench and the debate over the confirmation of these nominations has indeed proven that the Senate is a ventilating chamber of the first rank. The debates have brought out clearly the following facts: the jealousy of the Senate to guard its powers, the importance of lobbies and organized groups, the significance of the present economic and social decisions of the Supreme Court: and finally they have thrown much light upon the quality of the political leadership of President Hoover. Professor Corwin states, "The debates in the Senate occasioned by the nomination first of Mr. Hughes and then of Mr. Parker were epochal both in revealing and in forwarding popular understanding of the essentially political character of much of the work of the Court in the constitutional field."

The astronomical form of our government has failed to

apply to the Supreme Court in that the justices hold office. not for a definite period of time but during good behavior. This general statement must be modified to the extent that justices today are eligible to retire when they have reached the age of seventy and have served for ten years on the This rule has not been taken advantage of by the present members for Justice Holmes is now eighty-nine years old with many years of service on the bench. Justices Van Devanter and Brandeis are also eligible for retirement. In this connection it is interesting to note that Justices Mc-Revnolds and Sutherland will both be eligible for retirement in two years and if President Hoover should be reëlected. he would probably set a record for Supreme Court appointments made by one president.

The United States was unprepared for the resignation of Chief Justice Taft. His record as a public servant is unique in United States history and, while not ranking as one of our great chief justices, his record is indeed an enviable one. Scarcely less remarkable is the record of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes whose life bears some similarity to that of Mr. Taft's. There was, therefore, no widespread dissension when President Hoover appointed Mr. Hughes to fill the position vacated by Mr. Taft. Senators Norris and Walsh thought that the honor should have gone to Justice Holmes as a token of respect for his remarkable record while on the bench, but, on the whole, there was little opposition when the president first sent the name of Mr. Hughes to the Senate. The New York Times said that it was a high recognition highly deserved and that there never was a clearer case of the office seeking the man.

The opposition that did develop lacked nothing of its intensity because of its sudden appearance. For four days the debate waxed warm until the nomination was finally confirmed by a vote of fifty-two to twenty-six. It is interesting to note that if the Democrats had voted as a body confirma-

tion would have been defeated.

In spite of the fact that Mr. Hughes was physically and

professionally fit, his nomination was objected to for the following reasons: the part that he played in the Harding administration when he failed to bring the culprits to justice. his closed mind toward industry since he favored corporations, and lastly because he put "property rights above human rights." Some Senators also objected on the ground that in leaving the bench to run for president, Mr. Hughes lowered the dignity of the Supreme Court and therefore did not deserve the Chief Justiceship. Although the nomination was confirmed, the nature and the quality of the opposition was surprising and Mr. Frank Kent writing in the Baltimore Sun concludes that "Mr. Hughes will be a better Chief Justice for the experience. He has lost practically all of his tail feathers and reaches this highest and most secure of perches on our governmental tree a badly battered and bedraggled bird, so peppered with shot that it will be some time before he can comfortably assume a sitting position."

In the light of recent decisions, however, the Senate was in error when it classified Mr. Hughes as a conservative, for the new alignment of the Supreme Court finds the conservative group minus the support of the Chief Justice. The attitude of the Chief Justice in the Indiana chain store case, in the McIntosh case, and in the Minnesota scandal-sheet case has brought delight to the very senators who opposed his nomination and uncertainty to the President who nominated him. Two questions immediately arise: Did the President realize that the strong liberal tendencies that appeared in the early life of Chief Justice Hughes would reappear, or, has the Chief Justice discomfited the President by doing the unexpected? In other words, has the Supreme Court become more liberal with or without the aid of the President? Some political observers hold the opinion that the appointment of Mr. Hughes was an honest attempt to secure a strong Supreme Court and no attention was paid to the economic and social viewpoints of the nominee. This opinion is hard to hold since the appointment of Mr. Parker, which immediately followed that of Mr. Hughes, was based to a great extent on political expediency. The second view that the Chief Justice has done the unexpected seems to be the more logical. One Washington correspondent states that, in his opinion, the President did not have the slightest idea Mr. Hughes would return to the progressive philosophy he displayed during his younger days, while another correspondent believes that the controversy which raged over his nomination influenced greatly the development of a more liberal viewpoint.

The smoke occasioned by the nomination of Mr. Hughes had hardly cleared away when the sudden death of Justice Sanford called for another appointment to the Supreme Court bench. When the president sent the name of Judge Parker of North Carolina to the Senate, the opposition which was only a brisk wind in the case of Mr. Hughes now became a storm and it was easy to see that confirmation hung in the balance. This opposition was evident in the judiciary committee and in the Senate as a whole, notwithstanding the fact that many southern Democratic senators would vote for confirmation because of sectional reasons.

The opposition to Mr. Parker was based upon the following reasons:

1. His judicial attitude toward industrial and economic questions as indicated in his Red Jacket decision. In this decision the court upheld the validity of "yellow dog" contracts. Although Judge Parker said that in this case he only followed the law laid down by the Supreme Court, his viewpoint was enough to alienate organized labor.

2. The appointment was a political one for the purpose of increasing Republican prestige and confidence in North Carolina and the South.

3. It was maintained that Mr. Parker was a man of ability not great enough to fit him for so extremely important an office.

4. Opposition gave the Senate an opportunity to uphold its prestige and at the same time take a slap at the president. In other words Parker was an incident, the Senate versus President Hoover was the issue.

Upon these grounds confirmation was defeated although the change of one vote would have resulted in the confirma-

tion of Judge Parker.

A few days after the rejection of the nomination of Judge Parker, President Hoover, without making any public utterance concerning the Parker episode, sent the name of Mr. O. I. Roberts to the Senate, Mr. Roberts possessed an excellent record both as a lawyer and a law professor. He had helped prosecute in the oil fraud cases and since he had made no enemies by giving court decisions, he was acceptable to all groups. President Hoover had at last found a person who was satisfactory to the Senate, and even the Nation was forced to say that "for such nomination-undoubtedly the best of the entire administration-President Hoover is entitled to whatever credit may properly accrue to an executive who chooses a good man after learning to his sorrow that no other kind will be accepted." The Review of Reviews thought that the Senate could vote for Mr. Roberts because "It was found that there would be no reprisals by organized labor or any organized racial or propagandizing element."

When the judiciary committee reported to the Senate as unanimously in favor of confirmation, the Senate acted in less than a minute. No objection was raised to the nomination and the Vice President therefore declared the nomination confirmed. In acting in this manner the Senate has approached the record that has been established for the quick disposal of an appointment to the Supreme Court bench. In some instances the Senate votes for confirmation without referring the matter to a committee. This was done in the case of Justice Edward White who was unanimously confirmed without the formality of a reference to the judiciary com-

mittee.

In analyzing the events connected with these appointments of the president, there are certain general conclusions that may be reached. In the first place opposition to presidential appointments is not new although the last instances of rejection of nominations to the Supreme Court bench occurred

in Cleveland's administration. Altogether the Senate has refused to confirm eight nominations. It is an interesting fact that in the first and last instances of rejection, the economic beliefs of the nominee were the chief reason for rejection. John Rutledge of South Carolina, the first nominee to feel the anger of the Senate, was defeated by his own party. Washington sent his name to the Senate and at the same time notified Mr. Rutledge of his action. Before Mr. Rutledge received the news of his nomination and before the Senate could act, he made a speech denouncing the Jay treaty. This speech so enraged the members of his own party that, notwithstanding the refusal of Washington to withdraw his name, he was defeated by a vote of ten to fourteen.

Mr. Alexander Wolcott was rejected by the Senate because he was not considered of the proper calibre. Mr. Spencer, an appointee of President Tyler, was rejected by the followers of Clay. Mr. J. S. Black was nominated by President Buchanan but he was rejected by the Republicans who desired to keep the office vacant until Lincoln became president. Judge Hoar, an appointee of President Grant, was defeated because of the part that he had taken in the Johnson impeachment trial and because he was in favor of civil service reform. In the other three cases of rejection the adverse vote was due to "senatorial curtesy." The opposition of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania was enough to defeat Mr. Woodward while in Cleveland's administration the opposition of Senator Hill of New York was enough to cause the rejection of Mr. Hornblower and Mr. W. H. Peckham.

The president has the power to withdraw the name of an appointee whenever he thinks that there is no chance of confirmation or whenever, because of new information, he thinks his nomination is a poor one. Five times have presidents withdrawn the names of their candidates. On the other hand the Senate has developed several ways of avoiding both confirmation or rejection. The first method is by simply not acting upon the president's nomination. This has been done five times—the most notable case being that of

Henry Stanberry. Angered by the part that Stanberry had played in the impeachment trial, yet unwilling to reject the nomination, the number of judges was reduced and in this way the necessity of voting upon Mr. Stanberry was evaded since the vacancy ceased to exist. The other method used by the Senate to avoid a direct vote on confirmation is to postpone the vote. This action usually occurs during the closing days of a session in order to have the incoming president fill the vacancy in a manner more pleasing to the majority party in the Senate. Five times has the Senate used this method of thwarting the president and in each instance it was the result of political animosity.

The refusal of the Senate to accept the nomination of the president, in most cases, is a healthy sign. Mr. Justice Brewer made the statement that "It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court is either being honored or helped by being spoken of as beyond criticism. On the contrary, the life and character of its justices should be the object of constant watchfulness by all, and its judgment subject to the freest criticism." The Nation suggests that "Parker's defeat definitely suggests that the impenetrable apathy which has characterized the public's business during the past ten years is vanishing at last before a revival of the intelligent and progressive interest which the war effectively crushed."

It is interesting to attempt to ascertain the factors that seem to influence the president in making his nominations. The personal characteristics and the public record of the nominee have great importance. Parker was recommended by a list of notable men. Locality is also taken into consideration and while it is not the controlling factor it is never ignored. Political allegiance is another factor. At the present time there are six Republicans and three Democrats in the Supreme Court. This would appear to be unequal representation of the two parties and yet the Attorney-General recently made the statement that the tradition which requires that the Supreme Court be kept non-partisan is fully satisfied by three Democrats being on the bench.

The objection that the Senate today raises to a nominee is usually due to the position that the individual takes with respect to economic and social questions. As the electoral college has been changed by custom and the electors state before hand for whom they will vote, it is conceivable that in the future the nominee to the Supreme Court will have to make a statement concerning his viewpoint on economic questions some time before the Senate votes for confirmation. The opposition to Mr. Hughes was based principally upon his conservatism on all economic questions. The objection to Mr. Parker was based primarily upon the fact that by his decisions he classed himself as a conservative and was unfriendly toward organized labor. William Green and other labor leaders were able to exploit Parker's famous Red Jacket decision until the senators seemed assured that another conservative on the bench would seriously injure the prestige of the Supreme Court. It was claimed that the Supreme Court has gone far afield in recent years from its original function and has constituted itself a court in economics and in the determination of social questions, rather than the interpretation of statutes passed with reference to the Constitution itself. In the debate over Parker, according to one newspaper editor, was "the character, the tenet of thought, the economic and social views of the proposed new Supreme Court justice, and finally whether or not the Supreme Court should receive the addition of another member supposed to have ultraconservative leanings." In the case of Mr. Hughes, who was confirmed. Senator Dill had asserted that he wrote "into the law of the land economic doctrines that enabled organized wealth to pick the pockets of the people under the guise of protecting its constitutional rights." The Supreme Court is vulnerable to attacks of this nature and even Justice Holmes stated in a recent case that he could see no limit but the sky to the invalidating of certain rights of this nature if they should strike a majority of the court as for any reason undesirable.

In this way we come to the second significant fact con-

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nected with the Parker case and that is the enormous influence exerted by the lobbies in the selection of a justice of the Supreme Court. While it is rarely true that a lobby can dictate the exact person to be appointed, still a lobby often has enough power to defeat a nominee whom it thinks will prove detrimental to its interests. Not only did organized labor fight confirmation in the Parker case but the Negro race united in solid opposition against confirmation. The question has been asked many times as to what influence the Negro had upon the Senate vote in the Parker case. It must be admitted that the influence was enormous. One of the most mysterious, subtle, and powerful of lobbies that ever used its influence in Washington was exerted by the Negro. This influence contributed not only to the defeat of Parker but helped defeat senatorial candidates in the 1930 election who had used their influence and vote in favor of Parker. The reason for the hostility of the Negro to the North Carolina jurist was based on the fact that Judge Parker, while running for the office of Governor of North Carolina in 1920 said, in effect, that the Negro had not arrived at a stage of civilization which made him capable of political responsibility and that the participation of the Negro in politics was a source of evil and danger to both races and was not desired by the wise men in either race.

In order to defeat Judge Parker, telegrams, petitions, and letters were sent to the different members of the Senate. In fact practically every weapon of the expert lobbyist was called into play. Senator Fess stated that he received the following typical telegram: "Reports show that you have little regard for the interests, wishes, and welfare of the colored people of the country and Ohio. Your speeches and attitude shall not be forgotten by the colored people. Should you ever come before the people again seeking office we shall certainly do all in our power to defeat you." The effect of all this effort, according to Dr. DuBois, the Negro editor, was "a campaign conducted with snap, determination, and intelligence never surpassed in colored America and very seldom in white. It

turned the languid, half-hearted protest of the American Federation of Labor into a formidable and triumphant protest. It fired the labored liberalism of the West into flame. It was ready to beat back the enemy at every turn." The effect of all this effort, while not apparent during the time of the debate, was clearly shown when the final vote was taken. Mr. Frank Kent states that, "The strange alignment was due to the pressure exerted by the Negro leaders and organizations against the Parker confirmation. It was not mentioned in the ten days debate but privately it was the only thing discussed. But for the Negro issue he would have been confirmed."

The Negroes not satisfied with the defeat of Judge Parker, used their influence solidly against all senatorial candidates who had voted in favor of him. Buckley of Ohio was aided greatly by the Negro vote. Deneen felt the full effect of their opposition in the Illinois primary while other candidates, among which number was Allen of Kansas, felt the full effect of their opposition. The *Greensboro News* is forced to conclude that all in all it has become the most conspicious example in politics of Negro influence since Negroes became participants in national politics. Small wonder therefore that the late Senator Overman, after observing the carnage caused by a statement made ten years previously in a political campaign, brought forward the rather unique argument that a person ought not to be held for what he has said in a political campaign.

The last important point for consideration is to ascertain, if possible, the part that politics played in the nomination and the confirmation of a nominee to the Supreme Court. There is no doubt that the Senate took particular delight in snubbing President Hoover. "In every respect the analysis confirms the impression that, while there is no party majority in the Senate, there is distinctly an anti-Hoover majority." The Democrats did not vote solidly against confirmation, so opposition was based on anti-Hoover sentiment rather than party consideration. Many Democrats, however, were sure

that the Parker nomination was a political one. Senator Mc-Kellar read in the Senate a letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to one of the secretaries of the president. This letter which was never intended to reach the public said, among other things, that, "North Carolina carries more hope of future permanent alignment with the Republican party than any other southern state that broke from their political moorings last year.

"If the exigencies of the situation permit, I believe the naming of Judge Parker would be a major political stroke.

"The naming of Judge Parker would appeal to state pride. It would be the first distinctive major appointment made from the south. It would go a long way toward satisfying the unquestioned feeling that the administration has not recognized the political revolution of 1928."

In confirmation of this point Senator Borah stated that he had received a telegram from North Carolina which stated "The Republicans in North Carolina deplore your attitude relative to the confirmation of Judge Parker. . . . We are building a great Republican party in the state. The lack of Judge Parker's confirmation will destroy our hope. Why let a fanatic like Green or the Negro element which we shall never tolerate, prevail?" The Nation, always violent, said that "The great engineer is more deeply concerned with political considerations than any other man who has been in the White House during the present century—not excluding the cunning little Calvin."

In conclusion it is only fair to state that President Hoover cannot be blamed exclusively for the antagonism that now exists between the legislative and executive branches of our government over the selection of the judiciary. The Senate has always been jealous of its powers. The natural reaction after war time, when the executive reigns supreme, is for the Senate to attempt to restore its prestige through the exercise of constitutional powers. Yet President Hoover failed to understand the trend of the times and therefore he is far from being a sagacious political leader. The desires

of the people should be considered when an appointment is made to the Supreme Court. Today there is a demand for a more liberal court. The people desire men on the bench of the liberal stamp of Brandeis, Holmes, and Stone. While the Constitution states that a Supreme Court Justice must be nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate, vet, for the system to be really democratic, the opinion of the people should be considered and action taken accordingly. Especially should this be true when this opinion of the people has extended over a number of years and is well formed. When President Hoover anticipated the wishes of the people, his appointments were ratified; when he did not, he found himself immediately in deep water. Never before have the people been more interested in the personnel of the Supreme Court and if this court continues to hold in its hands the fate of all social and economic legislation, its membership will continue to be an issue in American politics.

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ROBERT FROST'S FIRST COLLECTED EDITION

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF ROBERT FROST. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1930. Pp. 349.

Though this volume contains six poems not included in his five previous volumes, it does not change the essential Robert Frost that has been familiar to all readers of American poetry since the appearance of North of Boston sixteen years ago. It took Mr. Frost only one volume, A Boy's Will (1913) to fall into his stride—the most distinctive and consistent stride (if we exclude various struts and caperings that are always momentarily with us) that American poetry has produced since Whitman. Robinson, with a more highly individualized style and wider range, lacks the distinctive unity of Frost.

It is evident that this concentration of interest is deliberate. In his first characteristic volume, and again in his first Collected Poems, he uses the delicate little lyric, "The Pasture," as an introduction. "I'm only going out to clean the pasture spring," he says, rake the leaves away, watch the water clear, fetch the little calf that tottered beside its mother—"I sha'n't be gone long—You come too."

This is such an exquisite keynote that it is easily overemphasized. It barely suggests, by its tone and language, the great wealth of humanity in Frost's poetry, and it gives no hint of the occasional humor that relieves the stark simplicity of New England country life as he sees it. "Brown's Descent," for example, gives an unforgetably humorous picture of the long, involuntary slide of a farmer as he lost his balance on the glazed snow around his hill-top farmhouse and gyrated, lantern in hand, to the valley a mile below:

Sometimes he came with arms outspread Like wings, revolving in the scene Upon his longer axis, and With no small dignity of mien.

Lyrics like those in "The Hill Wife" show that Frost's distinction is as a descriptive and dramatic interpreter of rural life influences, but does not inhibit, a considerable lyric ability.

There is some justice, however, in the popular insistence upon regarding Frost as preëminently the poet of New England. No poet has devoted himself so exclusively to the life of any region of America as Frost has to that of the section with which he is linked by eight generations of ancestry and several years of wrestling with its unproductive soil. To this end he has developed a style-or better, a fine absence of style-far better suited to his material than Wordsworth's with all his theories. It is only in other fields than his most proclaimed one that Wordsworth surpasses Frost. One may assert boldly that Frost's "The Death of the Hired Man" is a better poem than Wordsworth's "Michael." Robinson, it may be admitted, surpasses Frost in the analysis of character and covers a much wider range, but Frost's intuitive, sympathetic observation never suggests psycho-analysis, as Robinson sometimes does. With scarcely a "purple patch" at all, and with nothing of the exclusively egotistic or cosmic, Frost's poetry contains hundreds of accurate, natural, typical touches of daily agricultural life that will not readily be forgotten. Few poets so successfully and persistently violate Dr. Johnson's dictum against painting the streaks of the tulio. The fact that he sometimes paints them too monotonously and overelaborately is generally obscured by their surprising verity. Yet detailed talk about axe-helves and the tricky nature of brush fires may in time prove a little onerous to urban minds that discover no vital interest in such matter.

Mere truth of tone and detail, however, will not preserve Mr. Frost's poetry for a posterity that will conceivably care less for New England than the poet does. It is the soil (rather than the soil of New England) and the simple, sometimes complicated, always representative nature of the people who live on it that constitutes what Wordsworth insisted (without due qualification) was the abiding matter of poetry. There is little here, after all, of the exclusively New England, and what there is does not interfere with the general truth of the picture. No reader of his "Collected Poems" will feel that Mr. Frost, like most other localcolor writers, loses sight of the universal when he presents it under a particular guise. Like the poetry of Thomas Hardy, which it sometimes resembles more than that of any other recent poet, Mr. Frost's poetry seems destined to live because the purely local in it is after all only a suitable vesture for what is generally and eternally true. If it does not live so long, it will be because he does not envisage nature and humanity on so wide a front or delve into it quite so deeply as his great con-NEWMAN I. WHITE. temporary.

ANOTHER BOOK ON HOMER

DID HOMER LIVE? by Victor Bérard. Translated by Brian Rhys. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. Pp. 234. \$3.00.

M. Bérard once more takes up the Homeric Question and in the desire "to speak to a wider public," he offers a résumé of his opinions concerning the Homeric Poems, especially of the Odyssey. These opinions are contained in twelve volumes of study ranging over a period of forty-one years, and in the present volume he claims to dispense with all show of erudition, proofs, and discussions.

The question concerning Homer's identity as a poet and the unity of his poems has engaged the attention of critics for centuries. Ancient times were for the most part agreed in assigning both poems to one poet Homer. Herodotus says that he lived some four hundred years previous to his own time. In the historian's time it was the custom to assign many poems to Homer which were obviously the product of other hands, but in the time of the Alexandrian critics it was believed that only the two poems as we know them were the work of Homer. It is true that even in those early days there were a few who questioned the unity of the works. These so-called Chorizontes (Separaters) assigned the Iliad to Homer, and the Odyssey to another poet, but their theory had small weight, for we find Seneca, Suidas, and others later giving the poet undisputed possession.

In modern times the pendulum has swung from one extreme to another in various periods. Fr. A. Wolf was chiefly instrumental in crystalizing modern thought when in 1795 he brought out his Prolegomena ad Homerum, in which he set out to prove not only that Homer could not possibly have known the art of writing, and hence could not have been the author of the poems, but that the epic breaks up into an undefined number of chants somewhat in the manner of the early English ballad. His contention was that we owe the present unity of the poems to editors of the time of Peisistratos, about 550 B. C. Wolf's ideas were strongly influential until the last few years of the nineteenth century.

Now the two sciences of philology and archaeology have brought to light evidence which proves a knowledge of writing in the ninth century before Christ. The discovery of a Greek inscription, the so-called Mesha stele, a few years ago with its clearly formed words and unquestionable date, Schliemann's finding of Troy with its historical confirmation of Homer's story, his discovery of Mycenae showing the influence of Egyptian and Semitic culture, all indicate a much higher state

of culture in Homer's time than was previously thought. That the Greeks of his time, the ninth century before Christ, knew writing is rendered probable not only by the evidence of the Mesha stele with its similarity to the Phoenician alphabet, but also by the fact that for three hundred years the Phoenicians had maintained trading posts in Greek lands. These traders finding it necessary to keep accounts of business transactions, must also have found it necessary to teach the Hellenes to read these accounts.

M. Bérard quickly sums up his work on the internal study of the Odyssey, and finds much to point to early Semitic influences. Many words and stories are taken from ancient Egyptian sources. He traces the route of Odysseus and finds numerous places a knowledge of which the poet must have garnered from Phoenician sailing accounts (Periploi). These early periploi, he argues, must have existed for the same purpose as do the modern Nautical Instructions of the French and the Pilots of the English. The weakness of his argument is to be found in the fact that we have no direct knowledge of any such 'voyages,' though it may be added in justice that the author's conclusions are plausible in the extreme.

In his study of the internal construction of the poems the author confines himself wholly to the *Odyssey*. He feels that we must wait until excavations in Syria and Irak have brought to light examples of the warlike epics, the "Books of the Wars" mentioned in the Scriptures, before sufficient data will be had to handle the *Iliad*.

In the case of the Odyssey, however, Bérard does not hesitate to divide the poem roughly into three divisions, corresponding to subject matter. These are: The Voyage of Telemachos, The Tales at the Court of Alkinoos, and The Revenge of Odysseus. The Tales he attributes to Homer as being the finest masterpieces bequeathed by the Hellenic race to later ages. The Voyage and the Revenge he attributes to poets of somewhat inferior abilities. The Tales he considers a sublime cross between two well established genres in pre-Homeric literature: the Return of a hero (Nostos), and the Phoenician Periploi.

It is to be seen that the author argues once more from *probable* facts. Homer began the web; others added to it. On grounds of geographical expansion and known historical dates he believes the poem to have been written in the century from 850 B.C. to 750 B.C., the usually accepted date. On similar grounds he accepts Miletos as the poet's place of birth, though here his argument is somewhat involved.

CHARLTON C. JERNIGAN.

NEW MATERIAL ON LEIGH HUNT

LEIGH HUNT AND HIS CIRCLE. Edmund Blunden. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930.

At length the ruthlessness with which time has dealt with Leigh Hunt has been avenged. In Mr. Edmund Blunden's Leigh Hunt and His Circle, as delicately appreciative, yet thoroughly candid book as has yet been written about an English man-of-letters, Hunt comes into his own. And his own is in the center of a circle of the great. Even in his own record, his life did not altogether overshadow those contemporaries. In the Autobiography of Leigh Hunt we hear much of Byron, much of Lamb, much of Keats, much of Shelley-and much of many a lesser man, but not too much of Leigh Hunt himself. He perceived that posterity would be more interested in knowing what manner of men some of his contemporaries were than in tracing the crises of his own life. Mr. Blunden, likewise realizing "that the chief life of Leigh Hunt is in the wealth of his friendships, and that he lived less upon even the fabulous sums alleged to have been spent upon him than on the quiet satisfaction expressed by his companions regarding his spirit and writings," maintains a correct perspective by keeping Hunt within the circle.

A perusal of biographies of the men within that circle which have been written in recent decades indicates that all students of the period do not recognize Hunt's importance in it. Only two of these biographies, Mr. E. V. Lucas's Life of Charles Lamb and Miss Lowell's John Keats, really do justice to Leigh Hunt. Maurois's Ariel, which could have portrayed the most beautiful friendship in English literary history -that of Shelley for Hunt-gives far more space to Byron (mainly because of Shelley's efforts to mediate between him and Jane Clairmont) than to the one whom Shelley often spoke of as his dearest friend and who, according to Mr. Blunden, seems to have looked up to Shelley as a "sure guide in the wilderness of this world." The author of The Pilgrim of Eternity, with none of Mr. Blunden's effort to unravel both sides of the unfortunate alliance between Hunt and Byron, is content to dismiss Hunt as the defamer of Lord Byron, untrustworthy in his evidence. It is in the main the spectacular element in Hunt's life that has survived.

There is certainly much of the spectacular in the life of Leigh Hunt, and at this time when biography all too often consists of a series of glaring portraits, the more startling the better, that element offers especial temptation to the biographer. The bold young editor who spoke

unpleasant and, to be sure unnecessary, truths about the Prince Regent and thereby drew upon his head the long pent-up wrath of the government together with a sentence to prison, or the friendly young critic who took Keats and Shelley under his journalistic wing and thereby drew upon their hapless heads the ridicule of the Quarterly Review and Blackwood's Magazine, is indeed a fascinating figure. Then there is the charming old man in a long flowered dressing-gown, chatting with Arcadian sweetness of the distinguished protégé of his youth or playing barcarolles with which he had once delighted "Shelley and Birron." And there are tempting by-paths into the circle about Hunt. Through two generations he drew to him almost every young Englishman who wished to enter the arduous way of letters. In addition there are picturesque and challenging figures within Hunt's immediate family—the handsome and eloquent, but improvident father, who barely escaped from the Philadelphia patriots; the charitable Quaker mother, around whom, to use one of the happy phrases which are so often run upon in Mr. Blunden's book, Hunt creates such "pathetic and cloistered beauty": the young intellectual, Thornton Hunt, with his father's frankness and some of his talent. There is indeed temptation enough to try the biographer. But through it all Mr. Blunden steers a steady course. The result is all the more remarkable because it preserves the vivid portraits without wrenching other material out of shape or distorting the circle. The biography is one of unusual sanity.

There is much new material in the book, but the writer has "preferred not to interrupt the reader . . . with researcher's specifications and bristling references"—for which no one would have been more grateful than Leigh Hunt. But the student of Leigh Hunt is particularly indebted to the author for the account of Hunt's life after 1825. Previous biographies have been confined mostly to the years up to the return from Italy in 1825, and those were the years that Hunt himself recorded in detail. Only four of the twenty-six chapters in the Autobiography bear upon the last twenty-four years of his life. It is therefore those which have particularly cried out for a biographer, and Mr. Blunden's elaborate study of them is particularly valuable.

The book has much of the even and genial tone, yet genuine vivacity of Leigh Hunt himself—many a quaint by-path and sunny stretch from which the writer emerges as from a sojourn in Hunt's own green pastures. Surely Mr. Blunden has fed often—and throughout the years—upon Hunt's pages. One does not partake of a writer's very spirit from an occasional taste of his works.

The volume is attractively got up. It contains several of Mrs. Hunt's silhouettes, an engraving of Hampstead in 1827, some portraits and sketches. There is valuable and curious data in the appendix—an account of the locks of hair in Hunt's collection and other more serious matter. Altogether the volume is highly pleasing. Dare one suggest that the thorough and affectionate intimacy of the author with his subject is shown in the very binding of the book—a brilliant scarlet? Surely it was chosen out of love for one whom Harriet Matineau remembered hearing in his old age express his gratitude to ladies who dressed in velvet and rich colors and to old dames who still wore scarlet cloaks on the streets or in the country lanes around London.

NETTIE S. TILLETT.

A CRITICAL MONUMENT RESTORED

Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism. Edited by Thomas Middleton Raysor. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. 2 volumes, pp. LXI + 256 + 375.

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It has been the misfortune of both criticism and literature that the most influential body of critical opinions about the wo: 'd's greatest poet has been partly lost to posterity and partly garbled in transmission. Dr. Johnson and William Hazlitt as Shakespearean critics have merits not possessed by Coleridge to the same degree, but they have compensating defects, and neither carries his own peculiar merit to the triumphant limit to which Coleridge pushes (sometimes too far) his uncanny psychological insight. Neither matches Coleridge in influence upon subsequent opinion, an influence of which Hazlitt himself is the first and greatest product. This influence, however, has always had a most unsatisfactory textual basis. Coleridge not only failed to prepare his lectures for publication, he did not even write them out for delivery, but spoke extemporaneously or from notes that were generally quite fragmentary. What we have been calling Coleridge's lectures on Shakespeare were patched together after Coleridge's death by his nephew from the unrevised original notes and from marginalia in Coleridge's books. Some thousands of verbal alterations were introduced. Later research added shorthand reports from two independent sources and several brief newspaper accounts. Professor Raysor has added three unpublished contemporary reports of Coleridge's lectures and one contemporary newspaper report to those previously known, and has carefully re-edited all the original materials.

Out of his labor emerges a book that may annoy the general reader with its scholarly apparatus and its fragmentary marginalia in which Coleridge ranges from the profound to the trivial and absurd, but the apparatus is both necessary and thorough; it corrects hundreds of minor errors, and it establishes a reliable text for one of England's greatest critical monuments. Whether or not all Mr. Raysor's corrections are true—for he too has had to make conjectures—would be presumptuous for any reviewer to pronounce, but the method is sound and the execution obviously thorough and well-judged. Some of Coleridge's Shakespearian lectures are still entirely missing. The main elements of his criticism as previously understood remain unaltered, but they are now thoroughly confirmed, amplified, and placed on a reliable textual basis.

In his introduction Professor Raysor provides a judicial discussion of Coleridge as a critic, pointing out weaknesses due to contemporary ignorance of Elizabethan England, and examining the problem of his borrowings from the contemporary German criticism of Shakespeare. He has no difficulty in establishing Coleridge's essential originality. Though his attitude is by no means partisan, he drops into one of Coleridge's own critical faults when he extenuates Coleridge's weakness in criticising King Lear with the suggestion that the "sheer magnitude and terrific power" of the play place it beyond analysis. He is also illogical in assuming that where Coleridge's interpretation of Hamlet resembles Schlegel's his independence is "fairly clear" because Crabb Robinson records Coleridge as expressing the same idea in conversation on December 23, 1810, while Schlegel's lectures were published in 1811. Since Schlegel's lectures were delivered in 1808, it still remains to establish the improbability of Coleridge's having been influenced by them before publication, just as Coleridge's own Christabel influenced contemporaries before publication.

To Professor Raysor's new contemporary accounts of Coleridge's lectures the present reviewer would like to add that *The General Chronical and Literary Magazine* (London) for April 1812, contains a report and summary of the 1811-1812 lectures.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

CONFIGURATION AND DISFIGURATION IN THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

An Introduction to American Civilization. By Harold Ordway Rugg, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1929, \$1.92. Also by the same author and publisher comprising the Rugg Textbooks in the Social Studies, Vol. II, Changing Civilizations in the Modern World, Vol. III, A History of American Civilization, Economic and Social, Vol. IV, A History of American Civilization, Political and Cultural, Vol. V, A History of American Government and Culture; America's March Toward Democracy, Vol. VI, Changing Civilization and Changing Cultures.

Although each of these texts deserves special mention, this review is limited to the general point of view and method underlying all of them. Taken together, they constitute a very considerable revision of the customary approaches made to the social sciences in public schools. The method is one that will arouse the interest of many intellectual persons who have never taken a sympathetic, or first hand, interest in the work of such schools-an interest the lack of which is especially unfortunate. The schools, deprived of the guidance of mature thinkers and scholars at a time of great educational expansion, are passing more and more into the hands of professional educators. Professor Harold Rugg has publicly stated that in future policy-making and curriculum construction, frontier thinkers, sociologists, historians, economists, scientists, and philosophers should be invited to participate. The lack of familiarity with the real work of the public high schools may explain why some educators who are puzzled with the inadequate preparation of high school graduates for college work, for citizenship, or for vocation, have, in the name of "quality" education or in the name of Abraham Flexner, sought to restrict educational opportunities beyond the high school.

This present series of social science textbooks with their appropriate work-books should awaken an interest in what the schools are trying to do. Professor Rugg states that the aim is "to understand modern life and how it came to be. To understand any institution or condition of life today we must utilize meanings, generalizations, and the historical movements that have in the past been set up in separate school subjects." Then follows his own generalization, "Hence the necessity of combining them into one general course instead of teaching them as separate subjects—history, geography, civics, economics, government, etc. In constructing this course one question has constantly been in the foreground of our thinking: What facts, historical movements, meanings and principles do young people need to study to understand American life?"

To provide this introduction six volumes have been written, about equal in number of pages to what might ordinarily constitute a program of social science work, in the case of separate treatises on a distinct and relatively independent bodies of knowledge, such as history or economics. The volumes, typographically speaking, represent excellent workmanship; outlines, headings, and bibliographies are all clearly indicated. The texts are also enlivened by numerous illustrations and cartoons. They are interesting and are destined to wide use and influence.

The general interest in the series relates to pedagogical methods and to the use of words, cultures, civilizations, and history. Nowhere in the series has the reviewer found a clear cut definition of the term culture. It is used, evidently, neither in the popular sense of refinement or polish, nor in the strict anthropological or sociological sense of that "complex whole" of human achievements, language, invention, art, tools, religion, and social control, as used by Tylor, Lowie, and Ellwood. This rather loose use of the term is to be regretted and is inexcusable in view of the attempt to give the term precision. College courses in the social sciences seem to be based increasingly on the cultural approach, as is indicated by Professor Preserved Smith's highly praised *History of Modern Culture*, in which the more inclusive interpretation of the term culture is accepted.

In view of such interesting experiments as the Yale Institute of Human Relations, the Research Committees of the University of Chicago, the University of Virginia Social Research Institute, and cooperation among teachers of social science at Harvard and Columbia, the opposition to Professor Rugg's method, merely as method, may be less than might be anticipated. As a matter of fact, it has been found to be impracticable to carry out the plan of completely abandoning the conventions in social science, as each of the six volumes contains particular emphasis on topics such as geography, government, economics, and culture. The work is to be judged not by the method but by its success in promoting an understanding of American life. Although some of the omissions in volume I are in some measure remedied in the succeeding volumes, the appropriateness of calling a book which is in reality a "Study of Economic Life of the United States-A textbook in geography and civics with historical backgrounds," an Introduction to American Civilization may be questioned.

Economics and geography are admittedly important, but a study of them does not quite "introduce" the student to civilization. Religion, family life, government, art, are to be included. It is precisely this lack of any definite culture reference scheme that makes the books sketchy. The author argues that existing books are sketchy; yet let the student examine the relative interest aroused by Hayes and Moon. Modern European History, Eldridge and Clark, Major Problems of Democracy, Ellwood, Sociology and Modern Social Problems, or Tryon and Lingley, History of the American Nation and People, and see if Rugg's method of disfiguring the social landscape is to be preferred. The author states also "that the frequent use of dramatic episodes" is one

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of the novel characteristics of his series, yet in pursuit of such an aim the student is frequently led so quickly from one subject or episode to another that the unity is not clearly established. This does not produce configuration or integration.

The great emphasis on economics continues throughout the series. His chief question concerning Germany is, How She Became an Industrial Nation; and of France, How She Secured Her Empire. It may also be asked whether the impression of rapid social change is not a little severe. Judged in the light of such long perspectives as those of Wells, Lowie, and Ogburn, real social and cultural changes take place slowly. The understanding of civilization involves, either directly or indirectly, some appreciation of values, of what is socially helpful and what injurious. It is only in this way that errors in culture may be overcome and its progress charted in a somewhat general way. On this point Lowie has written: "To that planless hodgepodge, that thing of shreds and patches called civilization, its historian can no longer yield superstitious reverence. He will realize better than others the obstacles to infusing design into the amorphous product, but in thought at least he will not grovel before it in fatalistic acquiescence, but dream of a rational scheme to supplant the chaotic jungle." The present series is not superlatively successful in this respect and despite its modernity and emphasis on world-wide economic interdependence it fosters a certain cultural isolation of the present.

GUY V. PRICE.

INDIAN MISSIONS AND CURRICULUM MAKING

New Schools for Young India. By William J. McKee. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. xxi, 435.

Professor William J. McKee has spent a quarter of a life time in the studies that underlie this book, and it is not surprising that the result should be a really worthwhile study. The book is a contribution to the general field of education with special reference to the principles and practice of curriculum making as brought out in the author's many years of successful experience in developing a curriculum for peasant boys, mostly of the outcaste groups, in India.

The Presbyterian Mission School at Moga, in the Punjab, was Professor McKee's experiment station, and the work done there was so successful as to win for its founder the Kaiser-i-Hind medal, and for the Moga plan the attention of every educational agency dealing with village education in India.

New Schools for Young India seems to have been planned as a doctor's dissertation, but it has covered such a wide range in experience and life as to bear few traces of its origin. Part I is a review of education in India and the Punjab with reference to curriculum making. Part II discusses present-day educational practices with reference to curriculum making. Part III undertakes a social analysis of village life with reference to curriculum making. Part IV sets forth modern social and educational ideals with reference to curriculum making.

The author treats sympathetically all types of past and present Indian education, analyzing and appraising all the forms of effort by the Indians themselves, by the British government, by Christian missions, and by native religions. The objective held firmly and constantly in view is to discover by study and experiment what kind of education will best serve to take the poverty stricken, illiterate, underfed village child of the Punjab, train his mind, body, and spirit, and place him as a useful citizen in the environment in which he can function happily and serviceably.

The Moga system is a form of the project type of education, not distinctive in being of this class but rather in the care taken to guard against some defects of overemphasis or neglect, the fidelity and perseverance with which Professor McKee and his successor have worked at their task, and the almost virgin field in which it has operated, for, as the author of this book points out, few other efforts in the same direction in India have been unhampered in some direction.

It is agreed by every one who has any knowledge of India that the still unsolved educational problem is that of setting up and maintaining a type of primary education that will get into the Indian village, where 85 per cent of the people live, and there educate for life and leadership in that very village the boys and girls who will be its men and women. The Moga experiment seems to have done more to show what type of primary education will accomplish this result than any other that has been offered. One cannot help wondering whether its success can be duplicated without the high degree of training, insight, and ability the Moga teachers have brought to their task; in other words, will not the real task lie in producing teachers who can teach as Moga has taught.

Professor McKee's book is not made up only of theories of education and the story of Moga. He gives excellent studies of financial, social, political, and religious problems, supported by personal observation and published studies, and in several valuable appendices works out family budget, debt, and other tables for typical families, and sample plans of the Moga scheme.

There is an enthusiastic foreword by Professor William H. Kilpatrick.

JAMES CANNON III.

REGARDING UNIVERSITIES

Universities, American, English, German. By Abraham Flexner. New York; London; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. ix, 381.

This important book deserves to be read by all who are interested in the promotion of higher education in the United States. The sections dealing with the English and German universities afford a useful basis of comparison which, without dulling the points of the author's criticisms, will prevent a discriminating reader from passing too severe a judgment upon the American experience. Perhaps few will agree with all of Dr. Flexner's contentions, but every thoughtful reader will be provoked to re-examine his own views and to inquire whether they are supported by solid foundations.

One does not have to follow Dr. Flexner in every detail to accept the core of his thesis as fundamentally sound. We owe him a debt of gratitude for setting down both the facts brought to light and his stimulating thoughts upon them. It is unfortunate that the passages in the book which found a place in the news were perhaps those of least importance. Their exploitation tended to distract attention from the chief purpose of the author; namely, to summon those responsible for the management of American universities to return to their main task of assembling productive scholars and teachers, providing them with adequate means for work, and affording easy access to them for the able and ambitious youths who will have to build in coming generations on the foundations laid in the past.

W. T. LAPRADE.

A CIVIL WAR STUDY

EUROPE AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt. New York: Houghton Mifflin. 1931. Pp. 299. \$4.00.

In this brief volume one will look in vain for any startling discovery. The general aspects of the attitude of England, France, and Spain toward the American Civil War are familiar to students of American diplomacy, and they know something also of that of Russia. The attitude of Italy, the German states, and the minor countries of Europe is less familiar, but it is also less important. Moreover, in their

sketchy treatment, the authors throw little light upon these latter phases of the subject.

The discussion of English public opinion with reference to the struggle is thorough, that of France somewhat less so, and that of Spain rather inadequate because of the neglect of the debates of the Cortes and the private correspondence of leading Spaniards. If the authors justify by implication their comparative neglect of diplomatic correspondence on the ground that their main interest was in public opinion, such a justification is not wholly valid. Any experienced student of diplomatic archives will testify that many significant revelations regarding public opinion are often contained therein.

The work is well written, the bibliography is valuable but far from complete, and the index is fairly adequate. The authors have made a contribution which will doubtless be appreciated by all scholars interested in the subject. Perhaps the chief importance of their work consists in the revelation which they make of the influence of the American "experiment" upon the Liberal Movement in Europe.

J. FRED RIPPY.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- J. Q. Adams, Ed., MacBeth. Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Co. Price \$2.00—298 pp.
- T. C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. Price \$3.50—413 pp.
- Katharine C. Bushnell, God's Word to Women. Pub. by author. Price 60c-836 pp.
- R. A. Beale, M. E. Barnicle, J. S. Terry, Readings and Descriptions in Narration. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co. Price \$1.80—374 pp.
- H. Harvie Branscomb, The Teachings of Jesus. Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press. Price \$2.50—384 pp.
- Jesse T. Carpenter, The South As a Conscious Minority. New York: New York University Press. Price \$4.50—315 pp.
- Carl Holliday, Dawn of Literature. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co-Price \$3.50-365 pp.
- Ray W. Irwin, Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. 225 pp.
- H. R. Huse, The Psychology of Foreign Language Study. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. 231 pp.
- D. D. Hoover, A Handbook for Reporters. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company. Price \$2.50—327pp.
- Addison Hibbard, Editor, Stories of the South Old and New. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. Price \$3.00—520 pp.
- Harry W. Laidler, Concentration in American History. New York: Thomas-Y. Crowell & Co. Price \$3.75-501 pp.
- Umphrey Lee, The Historical Backgrounds of Early Methodist Enthusiasm. New York: Columbia University Press. Price \$3.00—148 pp.

- Kent, Higher Education in America. Boston, Mass.: Ginn & Company. Price \$4.00-689 pp.
- PROBLEMS OF PEACE. Geneva Institute of International Relations. Oxford University Press. 332 pp.
- J. Alexander Mahan, MARIE LOUISE, NAPOLEON'S NEMESIS. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price \$3.75—364 pp.
- Edmund C. Mower, International Government. New York: D. C. Heath & Co. Price \$4.00-736 pp.
- Robert Marshall, Social Management of American Forests. League for Industrial Democracy. Price 10c-36 pp.
- Claudius T. Murchison, King Cotton is Sick. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. Price \$2.00—190 pp.
- Allardyce Nicoll, Theory of Drama. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. Price \$2.50—262 pp.
- Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt, Europe and the American Civil War. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co. Price \$4.00—299 pp.
- Conference on the Press. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 145 pp. Cargill Spreetsma, We Imperialists. New York: Columbia University Press. Price \$1.50—153 pp.
- George R. Sherrill, CRIMINAL PROCEDURE IN NORTH CAROLINA. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. Price \$3.00—173 pp.
- W. W. Way, Jr., The CLINCHFIELD RAILBOAD. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. 297 pp.
- Albert Widdis, Communism, the First Law of Nature. Price \$1.00-70 pp.
- Raymond Wheeler Wheeler, READINGS IN PSYCHOLOGY. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. Price \$3.75—597 pp.



DUKE UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

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